

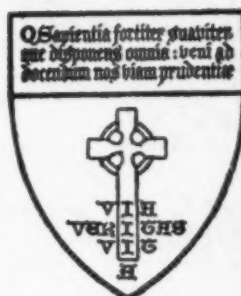
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# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON AND ALDEN D. KELLEY

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXXVII

APRIL 1955

NUMBER 2

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# Anglican Theological Review

FOUNDED IN 1918 BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

EDITED BY

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON AND ALDEN D. KELLEY

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VOLUME XXXVII

April, 1955

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## THE REVIEW AND DR. GRANT

In May, 1918—and thus amid the turmoil of the First World War—the ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW made its initial appearance, under the editorship of Samuel A. B. Mercer and the late Leicester C. Lewis, Professors in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, “in collaboration with representative scholars throughout the Church”. The Editors gave as their reasons for launching their undertaking: (1) the present lack of any scholarly journal representing the thought of the American Episcopal Church; (2) the prospect of a retrenchment, due to the war, in European theological literature, upon which we Anglicans in America had been so largely dependent. They projected the REVIEW as partisan only in behalf of a scientific and scholarly discussion of theological questions. It was planned to be above party and free of party; “to represent that which is most characteristic and scholarly in our Church”—and not merely the American segment of the Anglican Communion.

The very first issue contained an exhaustive critical bibliography of recent New Testament literature by Frederick Clifton Grant, at that time Assistant at St. Luke's Church's, Evanston. Thus early did Fred Grant's mastery of his chosen field become evident to readers of the REVIEW. With Vol. V (May, 1922), his name appears as one of the co-editors; and in 1924, with Vol. VII, he assumed the full responsibility of editorship. The journal accompanied him from Chicago to Bexley Hall, thence to Berkeley Divinity School (then at Middletown, Conn.), back to Chicago and Evanston, and finally to New York and Union

Theological Seminary. He thus conducted the REVIEW through thirty-one of its thirty-seven years of existence, and during all this time he kept it true to the intent and broad principles of its founders.

It has indeed been a labor of love, a service of dedication to sound learning and representative Anglican scholarship. Dr. Grant never spared himself; to go the "second mile" has ever been characteristic of him. How many hundreds of hours of thought and work he put into the making of the REVIEW perhaps only those can estimate who have been privileged to be his close associates. For the first few years—until a Corporation was formed in 1930—he carried not only the exacting burdens of editorship, but the responsibility for circulation and finance as well. He was both editor and bookkeeper. While other journals of similar character succumbed, he carried on through war and depression—and never ran a deficit. To him the production of the REVIEW was an intellectual work for God and His Church, carried on over the years with no thought of reward and with less recognition than his devotion deserved. He had the knack of enlisting a wide range of scholars as contributors. The REVIEW is internationally known.

Now the state of his health has compelled him to relinquish the editorship. His associates will miss the active participation of this fine Christian gentleman and encyclopedic scholar. We rather think that he will miss his long-time quarterly task. But under its new leadership the ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW purposes to continue along the old lines Fred Grant so firmly marked out. And we expect to hear from him frequently.

*Cui lecta potenter erit res,  
nec facundia deseret hunc,  
nec lucidus ordo.*

PERCY V. NORWOOD

## THE STORY OF JESUS AND THE ADULTERESS

By FREDERICK A. SCHILLING

Church Divinity School of the Pacific

The Gospel of St. John has many mysterious features and not the least puzzling of these is the Pericope of the Adulteress (7:53-8:1). It came out of the *Textus Receptus* into the A. V., but now the R. S. V. prints it in small type and thus marks it as an intrusion into the original text. Before the R.S.V. the great editors of the New Testament Greek text had indicated their estimate of its textual evidence in this manner: Tischendorf and Weiss gave it in the margin, Hort placed it at the end of the Gospel in brackets. A few MSS. actually contain it there but not in brackets, probably as a sample of the "many things which Jesus did" (21:25). One MS. has it after 7:36 where there is no connection with the preceding, and with vs. 37 it has only the temple setting in common. At least one MS. preserves the passage after Luke 21:38. Here, too, the setting in the temple offers the only context and the episode stands there as the last controversial incident before the Supper and Betrayal.

Of course, in the location after 7:35 there also is no connection with its surroundings, except that a few verses later on (8:15) Jesus says, "You judge according to externals, I judge no one" (cf. 7:24). Some scholars think this pericope is put here to illustrate that characteristic of Jesus. E. J. Goodspeed, (*Early Christian Literature*, p. 70) gives this as his opinion: "Its introduction into John was evidently to show that Jesus was not illiterate, as the Jews had intimated (7:15), though, of course, this is far from being the point of the original story." William Temple, *Readings in St. John's Gospel*, p. 131, says flatly, "It is Lucan; I have no doubt that Luke 21:38 ["And all the crowd came to him in the morning to hear him in the temple"] is its proper place." Then a scribe wrote it as a marginal gloss to John 8:15, close to which verse it then stayed by mistake until it was ultimately removed from its original Lucan position. B. W. Robinson, *The Gospel of St. John*, p. 154, thought that it was probably a passage from the Gospel according to the Hebrews whence it had been copied on a separate sheet, tucked into a volume of the four Gospels, later copied into the Johannine text with a marginal note which then was lost. Now that note is restored

by the R.S.V. W. Bauer, *Das Johannesvangelium, ad loc.*, and B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John ad loc.*, have similar views of its origin and entry into the Gospel text. J. H. Bernard, *The Gospel according to St. John, ad loc.*, suggests that the edifying story was adopted into Greek lectionaries and from there "crept into Gospel texts" some time before Jerome, but after a more lenient attitude had come to prevail toward those guilty of fornication. Of a different sort of opinion was W. Bousset, who, in a sermon meditation on this lesson delivered at Göttingen some time between 1901 and 1909 (see the little volume of sermons compiled by Maria Bousset, *Wir heissen Euch hoffen!*, p. 86 ff.) said, "It is surely not happenstance that this story, which is one of the pearls of Gospel tradition, is not passed on to us in our Gospels, that is, if we look at it carefully. It got into an ancient copy of the Johannine Gospel by accident. The original Gospel did not know the story. . . . The earliest group of Jesus' disciples seems to have been ashamed of it and not to have passed it on." Macgregor, *The Gospel of John*, p. 211, suspects the same embarrassment on the part of the early Church. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, p. 236, dismissed the section with one sentence as belonging neither to the original Gospel nor to its hypothetical churchly revision.

Now, here is a mystery, or rather, here are several mysteries! A good story, characteristic of Jesus, but with a very uncertain origin, and a varied history. The question is not so much whether the incident did or could have happened; but the question pertains to the story itself. Who wrote it, when, why? Was it an early contribution and later deleted, or was it a later composition and then inserted? Why? Why deleted if once there? Or inserted if it was not there originally, Its history and purpose arouse our interest. Let us try to run them down.

The locations other than the present one need not detain us because their MS. witnesses are very meager, unimportant, and late in dating. The standard Greek text from *ca.* 900 on contains the section after 7:52, and so does the Vulgate. But doubt arises when we come to the earlier of the minuscules. There is a good deal of critical scribal work in them as seen in their use of brackets, obeli and asterisks. The copyist of 565 comments on our section by saying, "I have omitted (it) as not read in the copies now current," and the scribes of 1 and 1582 note that this pericope is not mentioned in the commentaries of Chrysostom, Cyril, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Caesarean text, introduced by George the Athonite in his revision of *ca.* 1095, does not have the section. The Georgian MSS. do not contain it. The Lucianic

text, ancestor of the Byzantine text and traceable to the textual tradition of Antioch back to *ca.* 300 A.D. does not have it. The Egyptian family and its forebear, the Alexandrian text which is traceable to its earliest form in Origen's use before 230 A.D., i.e. before he wrote his commentary on John, does not have the episode. This covers a lot of territory, including the best of the oldest MSS. Aleph, A, B, as well as the commentators Origen and Clement of Alexandria. And so far as Greek lectionaries and martyrologies are concerned, their MSS. are too late and the time of the beginnings of the practices they reflect is so conjectural as not to allow reliable conclusions below the 7th century. The trail is cold in the Eastern half of the Mediterranean orb between *ca.* 900 A.D. and the early 3rd century.

In the West, however, the trail becomes warm very rapidly. While Tertullian did not seem to know about the section, yet two other great Latin writers did, namely, Jerome and Augustine. Augustine (d.430) opines that the passage was removed from the Latin text by "some who were of slight faith or rather hostile to the true faith" to avoid scandal (*De Conj. Adult.* ii, 7). This is most interesting. Augustine misses the section and feels it was wrongly removed. He restores it, apparently, and reads it as a part of the Gospel as did Ambrose (d. 397). Jerome (d.420) mentions (*Adv. Pelag.* ii, 17) that it was found in his time "in many Greek and Latin MSS. in the Gospel according to John." On evidence his "many" must be taken as an exaggeration. However, it is found in Latin copies such as b and c, though omitted by a, f, etc., and the trail thus leads ever more clearly to the European Latin text on whose authority Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome had preserved it as a part of the Gospel. How did it get into this text and who then removed it and why?

Our clues now seem to lead to the answer. Eusebius (d.339/40) says in his *Church History* (iii. 39 16) that "Papias relates another story of a woman who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews." This turns out to be a false clue. The Gospel according to the Hebrews was a very early Gospel account. But it is known to us only through references to it and quotations from it in authors as early as Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The early popularity it enjoyed suggests its origin as having been very close to the publication of the four-fold Gospel, perhaps as early as 120/30 A.D. Papias wrote *ca.* 135 A.D., but that he knew this book cannot with confidence be inferred from Eusebius' statement, for he merely says that the same story circulated

in both writings. Now, was that story our incident of Jesus and the adulteress? Notable scholars have assumed it was; but with what right? We cannot check it, for the account in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is lost, and there is not enough in Eusebius to say really what the story was. It could just as well have been a story about the woman of whom Jesus said, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much." This he said after his Pharisee host had said about the woman, "She is a sinner" (Luke 7:36-50). So, this trail to Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews has led nowhere at all. We must search in another direction.

The Old-European Latin text had of course a Greek ancestor. Was our section in the Greek that underlay this Latin tradition? Jerome would seem to say that it was, for the Greek MSS. in which he saw the passage must have been of Western location. Now if we should have a representative of that MS. family we would have a promising lead before us. Fortunately, we have one such. It is D (Bezae) of the 5th century (as Burkitt, Low and Streeter date it). It is the only early Greek uncial to have this pericope without any critical notation. D is a very interesting document and a highly important one because of its origin and peculiarities. It is not well written. It is the kind of MS. that would readily absorb floating materials, providing they seemed characteristic of Jesus. So D contains the story of the man working on the Sabbath to whom Jesus says (included after Luke 6:4), "Man, if you know what you are doing, blessed are you; but if you do not know you are cursed and a transgressor of the law." To Matt. 20:28 it appends a long passage which is very much like Luke 14:1-11. In the Book of Acts D has also a great many additions of varying lengths and significance. But it also has many omissions. It has the distinction with MSS. B and Aleph of having escaped completely a correction to the Byzantine standard. In view of the apparent fact that it was written by an ill-educated scribe it could have escaped such a corrective effort only if it had been produced in an out-of-the-way place. Also, its prototype must have been written at an early time, that is, 200 A.D. plus or minus, when a maximum local diversity in textual respects still prevailed and provided the occasion for the older versions. After the sacredness of a Gospel text was established in usage omissions could be made on claims of secondary origins, but additions of substantial quantity like our section would be resented. The Gospel text of D would therefore seem actually to go back as far as *ca.* 150 A.D. Further examination of D's relationship with the Old Latin



of Europe shows D as standing well in the middle of the O.L. textual tradition. In fact, it is practically the only representative of the Greek text in the West prior to the end of the 2nd century. Where did it come from? Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 72, believes that its textual affinities with Irenaeus point to the Rhone Valley as its birthplace. This is not, however, the end of our textual trail, for D and the European Latin are largely witnesses of the text of Ephesus, as Streeter so fascinatingly shows with convincing evidence drawn from numerous textual witnesses, including the fairly recently discovered text of the 2nd century *Epistula Apostolorum* which is confidently attributed to an Ephesian origin (Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 70). Irenaeus (born before 142 A.D.) came from Smyrna, but he speaks of the Church in Asia (i.e. the Roman province by that name) as a whole, thus embracing Smyrna and Ephesus. There were so many special connections in trade and communication between the communities and churches of the Rhone Valley and those in Asiatic Greece that it is generally assumed that Christianity came to that region from Ephesus and brought from Ephesus its Greek scriptural text. It seems altogether probable, therefore, that D, though having some admixture from elsewhere, for instance out of the text of Rome where Irenaeus came to live and teach, nevertheless represents best that text from Ephesus.

Did our pericope come along from Ephesus, or was it composed in Southern Gaul and there incorporated into the Greek text? Since it seems not to have got into this text accidentally, i.e. from first having been a marginal note, it would seem to have had to find its place so early that it could not have been resented as an intrusion into a sacred text. Would that have been in its Ephesine home? Would such an origin have given it so firm a place in the Western text and O.L. versions that Augustine would account for its absence in some MSS. only on the assumption of an unfair deletion? Well, here we must let the matter of authorship, dating and location rest until we find a satisfactory answer as to why it was composed (i.e. orally or written) in the first place. This involves, of course, consideration of its form, spirit and meaning.

I have already noted that the story has an altogether authentic quality. It is true of Jesus as he acts in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g. Luke 7:36-50; 8:1-3), and it is equally true of the Jesus in the Johannine Gospel (cf. ch. 4, especially vss. 16 ff.; also 9:3). As for the lack of logical connection with its immediate environment in the Johannine Gospel (7:52 and 8:12) it must be said that one of the characteristics of this Gospel is its putting in series pericopes which have no more in-

trinsic connection than the Gospel lessons of the liturgy. For instance, our pericope is no more out of place where it is than is the story of the disciples buffeted on the sea in the great chapter on the Bread of Life (see 6:16-21). Even a short reflection upon the location of that incident reveals its tremendous dramatic effect as an interlude and commentary on the disciples' state of mind. The episode of the adulteress has a similar dramatic effect. Furthermore, one can read it without feeling such a marked difference in style and rhythm as to suspect a different author. However, a close examination does expose a composition on a succession of clauses introduced by the particle *de*, literally "but," which is best left untranslated. This is a style strange to the Gospel. If it is not written by the author of the Gospel, that too would have a precedent in the last two verses of the Gospel which are quite certainly additions by another hand. So, on formal grounds, as well, this section fits easily into the Johannine Gospel.

Whoever wrote and inserted our section did so with full knowledge of the general character of the Johannine Gospel. He knew that this Gospel recorded incidents from Jesus' life not for the sake of narrative only, and certainly not merely to give information to supplement the materials of the Synoptic Gospels. Such events as it has out of the Synoptic tradition it heightens far beyond any previous degree of meaning either to reveal their signs, i.e. to set forth their allegorical meaning as affirmative doctrine or to elevate Jesus above any authorities for whom Jews and earlier Christians still held a measure of higher respect. Successively Jesus is shown to transcend Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, the Prophet, the Baptist, the Messiah. For one of these purposes—or for both—the pericope must have been written in order to be fit for inclusion. It illustrates the principle of forgiveness, the unearned grace of God. There is no question of the woman's guilt. There is not even a plea for pardon. Jesus shows God's willingness to forgive even without an audible prayer for mercy. He knows she needs it. That is her only cure—whether she realizes it or not. No wonder that Augustine thought the passage was too much for many orthodox stomachs. His act of forgiving meant her restoration to a clean, new beginning and the requirement to sin no more. But more than requirement! For in the very way of treating the woman Jesus infused into her the strength not to sin. Such a confrontation means a transformation, and that is real forgiveness.

A surface reading of the story could regard it as an illustration of Jesus' statements in 7:24, "Do not judge by appearance, but pass a

righteous judgment," and in 8:15, "I judge no one." It is, of course, a case in point. But the opinion that it was written for the express and sole purpose of illustrating those sentences is not convincing. As I have already shown, the incidents in chapters 4 and 9 (the woman who was both an adulteress and of a despised race, and the man who was blind and by implication a sinner of sinful parents) illustrate that truth about Jesus quite sufficiently. All three passages are excellent representations of the grace of God which Paul preached with so much power. This stands as the central teaching of our passage, but the reason for its being written in addition to the other passages would seem to have been a purpose or purposes other than the doctrinal-evangelistic one. Jesus is here definitely put into the judgment seat. He must give an opinion. It is a formal situation. Then, when he gives an opinion he acts with a surprising radicalness. One would have expected him to act as the Pharisees. But then, again, while with his insight he is able to expose a guilt on their part—a guilt more heinous than hers because it contrasts with their profession—he lets them off free as well. The story, therefore, reveals Jesus' power of moral judgment in an almost incomprehensible dimension. In the treatment of the woman he gives a lesson of pardon; in the treatment of the scribes and Pharisees his lesson is a stern rebuke to religious leaders who do not forgive though they too need forgiveness; and, yet, the divine judge (he is in the temple when he speaks!) dismisses them also without penalty.

It is in the detail of the lesson to the elders that I believe the specific purpose of this pericope lies. It is a procedural precedent for the presbyters of the Church. They should always offer forgiveness, and treat accordingly, the straying and lost, all, not only the penitent. Now this is the very use to which the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (ca. 380 A.D.) puts this lesson—though with a contraction of the spacious grace revealed in the original story. In ii. 4.24 the bishops are exhorted with an appeal to Jesus' example. "When the elders had set another woman which had sinned before Him, and had left the sentence to Him, and were gone out, our Lord, the searcher of the hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, he said unto her: 'Go thy way therefore, for neither do I condemn thee.' This Jesus, O ye bishops, our Saviour, our King, and our God, ought to be set before you as your pattern; and Him you ought to imitate, in being meek, quiet, compassionate, merciful, peaceable, without passion, apt to teach, and diligent to convert, willing to receive, and

to comfort. . . ." Now in this respect too, namely, of offering a scene in which Jesus is a pattern of attitude and conduct for the presbyters our pericope is in harmony with the Fourth Gospel, for this Gospel addresses its major sections to the ministers of the Church in Asia, instructing them, for example, on humble service to others, as the foot washing exemplified it: "A new commandment I have given you, that you love one another, even as I have loved you. . . . An apostle is not greater than he who sent him. If you know these things blessed are you, if you do them" (13:34, 16).

As I have already pointed out there is throughout the Johannine Gospel a deliberate contrast between Jesus and the great men of the Hebrew-Jewish past. Each action is, so to speak, staged in the drama of this book for that purpose. Sometimes the ancient (or less ancient) person is named, sometimes he is alluded to indirectly, though unmistakably, as for instance Jacob, the well water *vs.* Jesus, the flowing water; Moses, the perishable manna *vs.* Jesus, the imperishable bread. Analogous to this, does our pericope likewise show Jesus' superiority over an honored person of history or pious legend, say specifically, a judge who became a pattern for justice? At once, the Daniel of Susanna and the Elders comes to mind as the intended person of contrast.

The two stories have a plot in common: a woman accused of adultery, the accusers who allege witnessing the deed, a judge of the case. In the first story, the woman's innocence is established by examination of the plaintiffs. In the second story the woman's guilt is not even questioned, and there is no examination of the accusers. In both stories the accusers are themselves guilty: in the first, of false witness, in the second, of being transgressors on some counts, possibly even on the very count of the charge. The difference between the stories becomes vast in the persons of the judges. Daniel, the wise, is a paragon of court justice. His procedure is legally consistent and fair. He saves the woman falsely accused and punishes by execution the perjurers. They were elders. Jesus stands, acts and feels on an altogether different plane. Legal justice is not his concern. Restoration, not penalty, is his desire—for both guilty parties. His is the court of heaven, not the bar of human law. Daniel has no powers beyond the processes of legal procedure and penalty. Jesus has powers that pardon and reconstruct. From the Susanna story one gets the feeling of a cruel justice on Daniel's part; from the story of the Adulteress and the Elders one is touched by the compassion of Jesus. This seems to me to be the final purpose of our story. The glorified, young

judge, Daniel, is overshadowed by the Jesus of grace abounding. Jesus is one who is both righteous and makes righteous, as Paul had said of God (Rom. 3:26).

Of course, the example of Jesus is not applicable to a secular court, as was the case of Daniel. But that is just the point. The judgment under which man stands is not that of a human tribunal. God's court is so transcendent that there is scarcely any point of comparison. The difference is radical. It is easy to imagine standard churchmen expunging the section as Augustine suspected. For the presbyters of the Church this lesson also is written. Jesus is their example, not Daniel.

It is tempting to suspect that our pericope was written to counteract a spreading use of the Danielic precedent in the life of the Church. At any rate, in the *Apostolic Constitutions* already cited to show the procedural use of our section, there are in close proximity to its citation three references to the case of Susanna: 1) ii. 5.53, where also John 7:24 is quoted; 2) ii. 6.49; 3) ii. 6.51. These references cite the example of Daniel for bishops in their judicial functions. The specific applications are quite obvious and need not be quoted here.

The use which the *Constitutions* make of these two documents proves three things. First, that the pericope of the Adulteress and the Elders was known and used for exemplative purposes. Secondly, that the Susanna story was also well known and so used. Thirdly, that the heroic proportions of Jesus are contracted into the dimensions of Daniel and the lesson to the bishops, while retaining an ideal appeal, is lowered to the levels of human procedure analogous to secular justice rather than the generous grace of the divine Jesus. In short, the originally intended superiority of Jesus over Daniel is obscured in the stream of thought which found its formalization in the *Constitutions* of the mid-4th century. It may well be that the use of these two stories, singly or in juxtaposition, began as a support of Bishop Calixtus of Rome when a storm broke over him for publishing an edict (217-8 A.D.) offering forgiveness for sins of unchastity, even though he did it on the presupposition that only two repentances were possible ("*Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto*," Tertullian, *de pud.* 1).

An intended contrast between Jesus and the Daniel of the Susanna story would not have been strange in the early 2nd century whither the above traced history of the text had led us. The book of Daniel was widely read both among Jews and Christians. (See the citations from it in Baruch, the Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs, Wisdom, Hebrews,



Pauline writings, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which J. A. Montgomery gives in his commentary on *Daniel*, pp. 4 f.). It gave literary patterns to apocalyptic visions and hopes. The 13th chapter of Mark and its parallels in Matthew (c. 24) and Luke (ch. 21) are clear evidences of that, and the Book of Revelation, a contemporary with the Johannine Gospel, is even more fully dependent on the thought forms of Daniel. The book of Daniel as we know it in our Bibles was a part of the Old Testament Scriptures by the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Then, early in the 1st century B.C. the story of Susanna appeared as an addition to it. Originally it was written in literary Hebrew, and then translated into Greek. Then it went through varying experiences. In some Greek MSS. it appeared as a preface to Daniel, in others as an appendix to it with a separate title, or simply as chapter 13. In the Hebrew canon as it was fixed by the Jewish Elders presumably at Jamnia ca. 90 A.D. the story found no place. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, I, 642, suggests that it was removed as useless for apologetic purposes, as well as uncomplimentary to the rabbis. However, it remained connected with Daniel in later Jewish-Greek versions of the O.T. Its widespread reading was assured and evidently went on in all language areas of spreading Christendom, when its canonical position was finally established in Jerome's Vulgate. However, long before its literary legitimacy was established the scene of Daniel and Susanna came to occupy a prominent place in Christian art. Some time in the 2nd century Christian artists decorated the Capella Greca in the catacombs with murals and painted among them in prominent location the Susanna scene. This fact gains in importance when we realize further that this was a eucharistic chapel with the *Fractio Panis* (Breaking of the Bread) in commanding position and the fresco of the Raising of Lazarus close by. These Johannine scenes create the artistic and devotional framework for the Susanna picture, which situation led Mgr. Joseph Wilpert in his description of the chapel to remark, "The Resurrection of Lazarus [*i.e.* the fresco] indicates that the same artists [*i.e.* who painted the Susanna scene] were inspired by the Gospel of St. John who, alone recounts this miracle" (p. 72, *Fractio Panis, la plus ancienne Représentation du Sacrifice eucharistique à la 'Capella Greca'*, Paris, 1896).

It is worth noting, in passing, that the Book of Daniel, containing the Susanna story, is no less prominent in the ancient Asian-European and the Old Latin literary traditions as elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the earliest Christian citation of Susanna, as from Daniel, appears sig-



nificantly before 200 A.D. in the work *Against Heresies* written by Irenaeus who, as is well known, was a product of Asian Christianity. In this work (iv. 26.3) Irenaeus quotes "Daniel the prophet" in his condemnation of the wicked elders and applies these words as a warning against false "presbyters . . . who serve their own lusts and do not place the fear of God supreme in their hearts." By the time the estimate of Daniel as prophet had established itself in the mind of Irenaeus the figure of Daniel had come in popular thought to surpass even that stature. I. Maccabees 2:59 ff. had already made the name prominent and referred to his innocence (some render *haplotes* as "perfectness"). Josephus rated him as "the greatest of the prophets" and, even more, made him a prince of royal blood (*Ant.* x. 10, 1). The LXX version made him a priest (Ezra 8:2; Neh. 10:7). In popular thought this Daniel was assimilated with the sage of antiquity eulogized by Ezekiel along with Noah and Job (14:19, 20; 28:3). Charles (*op. cit.* p. 638) says that a "later recension of the Hebrew named the Deliverer Daniel," though he does not identify this recension. The name, Daniel, means "God judges," and it was probably in recognition of this that the story of Susanna was attached to the name and then the book of Daniel, for in this story Daniel really appears as judge at the appointment of God. It is therefore quite easy to understand why Daniel should have been regarded as of sufficient importance to be contrasted with Jesus and thus to be among the great men who were publicized as superseded by Jesus.

In order to decide to include the pericope in the Johannine Gospel it would seem that its author must have been induced to do so by some features of that Gospel itself. Perhaps it was at first by an indirect route that he came to this choice. In the Book of Revelation he found much of Daniel, but also many ties with the Johannine Gospel. In the Gospel he found many echoes of the Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs (E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 318 f.) lists 24 impressive parallels of phrasing) and in the Testaments he read many citations from Daniel (see the list of R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, pp. 74-78). There is a good deal of reading going on among Christian thinkers, not only in a wide range of works, but also in close scrutiny of earlier Christian writings, and such a reading would readily identify allusions to passages in documents not otherwise identified by direct quotation (a mode of citation which was not commonly practiced at that time anyway). The author of our passage was therefore quite prepared to find Danielic elements in the

very contents of the Johannine Gospel. Perhaps at first sight the unique prayer of Jesus in ch. 17 made him think of the Book of Daniel in which there is another lengthy prayer (ch. 9), or of the prayer of Azariah which was by then added as a part of Daniel's book, and if he did, then he certainly saw at once how infinitely Jesus transcended Daniel in the spirit of prayer.

He probably also recognized a Danielic fulfillment in the Johannine version of the cleansing of the temple. The marked difference from the account in Matthew and Mark and Luke could not have failed to indicate a peculiar meaning which the Fourth Evangelist sought to convey by it. In the earlier Gospels the incident stands in the natural sequence of Jesus' mounting struggle with the religious authorities so that it becomes the last link to break in their hesitation to remove him by forcible means if necessary. His action challenges them to do so, for by his mode of coming to Jerusalem and then interfering with Temple business he publicly assumes a revolutionary role. His followers later saw that he had thus announced himself as Messiah. But in the narratives no interpretation is added to the cleansing episode, and actually, Jesus made nothing further of it.

The Johannine version is quite different. It stands at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, not to correct the Markan chronology, but to achieve a symbolic effect. At the outset it is a sign. It introduces a section (2:13-4:35) on "the New and the Old." This cleansing story (2:13-22) presents a new authority with a new temple in the place of the old temple and the old authorities. Here there is conversation such as is not recorded in the earlier stories. There is editorial comment by the author; and through it runs the element of double meaning which is so characteristic of John.

The authorities demand of Jesus a sign, that is, his authorization for what he had done. In answer he gives them as sign a word. The word was, "*You destroy (luate) this temple* (v. 19)." John says that it was after the resurrection that Jesus' disciples "believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had spoken" (v. 22). What this scripture is is nowhere indicated in the passage. It must refer to what Jesus had said, and must mean that the disciples believed the scripture from which Jesus' word had come, *i.e.* of course, the sentence, "*You destroy this temple.*" Some commentators believe the reference is to the resurrection but the point of Jesus' remark is first the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, secondly, then, his substitution of another in its place.

Now he who knows his Daniel will quickly recognize Jesus' reply as

an echo from Dan. 9. There stood the prophecy of 70 weeks and of "an anointed one" to be cut off after 62 weeks, "and the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. Its end shall come with a flood, and to the end there shall be war; desolations are decreed. And he shall make a strong covenant with many for one week; and for half of the week he shall cause sacrifice and offerings to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one who makes desolate, until the decreed end is poured out on the desolator."

I must comment here that the text of this portion of Daniel is very difficult to straighten out. I have quoted above the RSV after finding it justified by the examination and reconstruction of the text by James A. Montgomery in his definitive commentary on Daniel (cited above). Also, the precise interpretation of the time references is both impossible and invalid for my contention, for the early Christian writers did not regard precise arithmetical congruence as necessary to the deeper meaning. I note that Montgomery remarks in summation of his nine and one half small type pages on the "Interpretation of the 70 Weeks" that "the history of the exegesis of the 70 weeks is the Dismal Swamp of O.T. criticism" (*op. cit.*, p. 400).

I suggest that the peculiarities and difficulties of the Johannine version find their explanation when we assume that John, *i.e.* the author of the Gospel, read this passage in the light of Jesus' life and therefore saw the Messiah in the anointed one and the Messiah's own people, *i.e.* the Jews, as "the people of the prince who is to come", and the destruction of the city to be catastrophic in the way of Matt. 24's prediction. But then in vs. 27 (Dan. 9) he read that the Messiah would make a covenant with "many" people, while for his former people the covenant would be no more. On the wing of the temple (as Montgomery reads it) there would be desolation until the decreed end, which would be the end of this aeon (this world or age) as the Book of Daniel predicts in chapter 12. This, then, is what Jesus alludes to. He says, "You destroy *this* temple—as Daniel predicted—and I will raise it up in a very short time ("three days")—but, of course, I mean *my* temple which will then be of a spiritual nature, namely all the people anywhere in whom I shall dwell." John goes on to explain, "this he accomplished after his resurrection, when also the disciples came to understand." They then comprehended and believed that the scripture in Daniel to which both his words and his act had referred was now fulfilled by Jesus.

This is the construction which the Fourth Evangelist puts upon the scene of the cleansing. It is both a fulfillment, of course, different in particulars from Daniel's expectation, yet nevertheless a fulfillment, as N.T. fulfillments are transcendings of the original prediction, so, a fulfillment and a sign of Jesus' authority to make a new beginning. Mark had long ago quoted Jesus as proclaiming, "The time is fulfilled" (Mark 1:15), that is, the time ( $\delta \kappa α ι ρ ό ς$  of the Messianic kingdom) foretold by Daniel (the 70 weeks) is about to end. Then too according to the Synoptic Gospels Jesus had more than once put the responsibility for the coming calamity on the people themselves. They were really the ones who destroyed the temple and the holy city. Now after years of reflection and with the aid of events such as the fall of Jerusalem John sees and asserts that the whole ministry of Jesus ended that time (age), and henceforth there is a new age (aeon), and life in it is the life of the aeon that was to come (the life "eternal," *zoe aionios*).

The Epistle of Barnabas, roughly contemporary with the Johannine Gospel interpretes the destruction of the temple and the building of a new temple in much the same way in ch. 13. Especially significant there, is his quotation of Isa. 49:17, "Lo, they who destroy this temple shall themselves build it," followed by his statement, "that is happening now;" then also his use of Dan. 9:24, 27, and finally his conclusion, "This is a spiritual temple being built for the Lord."

Seeing this use of Daniel in the Fourth Gospel the author of the story about the Adulteress and the Pharisees could readily feel that the story which he had written to portray Jesus as judge high above Daniel in the same role would fit very naturally into that Gospel. In the Book of Daniel he had found not only the provocation for his theme, but also a precedent for free composition and addition. The Johannine Gospel was hospitable on these same two grounds. But surely he must have known the other Gospels too, and why did he not insert his contribution into one of them? They too had references to Daniel. Now, while it is never safe to hazard a guess as to why an author has not done something, yet we can see why those Gospels did not commend themselves as the best vehicle for his lesson. So far as Daniel's future predictions were concerned they were neither set forth as fulfillments nor as transcended in those documents, only as predictions still (see Mark 13, etc.). In John all the scenes in which Jesus appears are heightened into fulfillments intended or in effect. Furthermore, those Gospels already had a story of Jesus' gracious treatment of a sinful woman (Mark 14:39; Luke 7:36-50; Matt. 26:6-13). But this particular theme he

did not find in the Johannine Gospel. With all its profound teachings about judgment he felt it should have the clear exemplification which his story gave.

Did the Evangelist himself write our section? He certainly was quite capable of doing it, and it is in his spirit and elevation of thought. He could have composed it after he published his work and then inserted it later as, probably, Mark had done once with a section of his document (6:45-8:26). However, I think not. The little word, "but" (the Greek *de*) in its rhythmic occurrence looks like the finger print of another person. This person, one of the first scribes, possibly, a profound student of Christ and the written testimonies of him, surely wrote his lesson and inserted it, not as a marginal note, but as integral text into the Johannine Gospel, which he found to be a natural host, at a very early time, perhaps by 200 A.D. as we have read the textual history, and either in the area of Asia or, more probably, somewhere on the line through Rome into Southern Gaul.

It could have been the Capella Greca that gave him the provocation for the story of the adulteress and its inclusion into the Johannine Gospel. On some occasion of worship when reflecting upon the figure of Daniel as he contrasted with the Johannine Jesus he could well have felt that there was a gap in the Johannine Gospel on this theme and determined to supply it as best he could with a pen picture inserted into the Gospel document. However, not all copyists of the Gospel had before them the text which contained this section. In the European area the text which had it became popular. Some of the earliest copies elsewhere did not contain it. Meanwhile, however, the story circulated independently and found its way early into the literary stream that flowed into church orders, such as the *Apostolic Constitutions*, whose sources are traceable to ca. 250 A.D. and possibly even earlier to the Antiochene church area, which through Ignatius had been close to Ephesus.

The history of the Roman Missal turns up the interesting fact, which my distinguished colleague, Massey H. Shepherd, called to my attention, that the Mass for Saturday after the 3rd Sunday in Lent has as the Epistle the Story of Susanna and as the Gospel the Pericope of the Adulteress. This was one of the seven Scrutiny Masses fixed by Gregory I as preparation for baptism. The communion chant was usually taken from the Psalms in canonical order during Lent and on this day the proper selection would have been Psalm 17, but, as one of the rare displacements of a Psalmic refrain by a Gospel passage, for this ser-

vice a substitution was made of the words of John 8:10, 11 with the refrain, "*Nemo te condemnavit, mulier?*" (Has no one condemned you, woman?). The lectionary which contains these selections is traceable as far back as the 7th and 6th centuries. This shows very clearly that quite early an integral relation had been felt to exist between the two scenes.

Our story went through vicissitudes impressively similar to those of the Susanna narrative. That too had been added, then dropped by some, probably because of dissatisfaction with its implications, but retained by others. So it was with our pericope. Even in the West where it had its best textual rootage it was expunged from some editions possibly because as Augustine suspected it was too high for some ecclesiastical canonists and theologians. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* it was at least cited with respect and some ideal appeal, yet nevertheless reduced from its sublime dimensions and encased in judicial caution. Others, more thoughtful men, retained it in margins or restored the passage to its original position after John 7:53. There it has stood until today when the critical question is asked again. I think it should continue as a part of the text, even though it be not from John's hand.

The story of Jesus forgiving adulteress and Pharisee gives an illustration of what Jesus meant when he said, "I judge no man" (8:15), and again, "I do not judge him; for I did not come to judge the world but to save the world" (12:47; 3:17). The writer of the Gospel had understood that truth of Jesus, and expressed it this way: "The law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (1:17). Now our pericope adds concretely this specification: not Daniel, the legendary wise young jurist, was God's judge, but Jesus the Lord was God's judge, but judge so differently in such a perfection of grace that he wasn't judge at all, but only merciful saviour, and he, not Daniel or Moses or Pharisee or lawyer, said Evangelist and later writer, was the example for the presbyters of his Church.



## PRIESTHOOD AND EUCHARIST

By CHARLES D. KEAN

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Any formulary for union or intercommunion implies, even if it does not overtly state, a concept of priesthood and the significance of the Eucharist. In order for anyone to minister in the Church, he must bear the commission of the Church. In order for a sacramental act really to be the occasion of effective encounter between God and the faithful it must reflect concretely the faith of the fellowship. All Anglicans feel that this is basic and that fruitful approaches to unity must involve a feeling that the other churches have a similar appreciation.

We understand priesthood to appertain primarily to our Lord Jesus Christ, "the great high priest who hath passed into the heavens," through whom we "come boldly to the throne of grace that we may obtain mercy and grace to help in time of need." The function of a priest is several-fold—mediating between the people whom he represents and God whom they worship, uniting the people whom he represents to God's purposes as understood, and offering sacrifice and service on behalf of the people whom he represents to the God to whom they owe this. In so doing, the priest is understood to stand in a special relationship to God, since his priestly actions are reflections of God's purposes of uniting His people to Himself and accepting and forgiving them. The essential priestly act is embodied in the all-sufficient mighty acts of God in Jesus Christ which can neither be repeated nor need be. As the Canon of the Eucharist puts it: "who made there (by himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

The priestly work of Christ is continued, in the sense of being mediated rather than re-enacted, in history by the Holy Catholic Church—the Body of Christ. Thus, priesthood applies to the Church as a whole—in its function as the central agent through which God's redemptive action is transmitted to man. In this way, the Church's life is priestly, oriented both toward God and man, as the normative context for God's outreach to his children and as the normal focus of man's response.

Any concept of priesthood as applied to men, particular priests, demands both the primary and secondary premises if it is to be both

Christian and Catholic. The classical Reformation conception of priesthood reflects in part this tradition. Human priesthood is itself sacramental activity, oriented both toward God and man—but always derived from the Mighty Acts of God in Christ Jesus, and within the ongoing historical continuity of the Holy Catholic Church. The Church embodies its faith by delegating to certain of its members, whom it believes to be qualified, the authority to exemplify in particular the priestly work of the whole Body. The character of the individual priest is derived from the priestly character of the Catholic Church. It has no meaning apart from the Church. The priesthood has authority within the life of the Church only because the Church in its attempt to carry out what it believes to be God's will commissions men to act on its behalf.

In the general tradition of Catholic Christendom, this commissioning takes the form of ordination by a Bishop within the Apostolic tradition, but the Bishop himself can only function within and on behalf of the Church from which he derives his special responsibilities. He does not act as an individual but as an instrumentality of the Body in conveying the commission of the Body to particular members of the same Body.

From this somewhat condensed statement, it follows that any formula for reunion or intercommunion must involve some kind of mutual recognition of both bodies as being within the Holy Catholic Church in all necessary particulars. In divided Christendom, this means that each believes it has and each must believe the other has a sufficient participation in the ongoing life of the Body of Christ for it to have authority to commission men to represent it in the priestly office. The question then becomes one of agreeing whether this is indeed true, and if it should not be the case what is needed to make such commissioning effectively representative of the Church's priestly responsibility. Conceivably this might, in given instances, consist of complete mutual recognition from the start, as the negotiating bodies understand each other to be in all essentials competent. In other instances, it might involve the recognition, in charity, that each has elements pertaining to the fullness of the Catholic Church which are lacking from the other, so that the rapprochement—in whatever form it takes—is a process of mutual enrichment. In still other instances, it might take the form that one group is in some respects deficient so that what it lacks might be supplied by the other (e.g. the case of the Aglipayan Church).

In any event, an understanding of priesthood in some such light

must be faced frankly if negotiations for reunion or intercommunion are not to be superficial. Perhaps, the place to start is with an agreed recognition of the priestly character of the Catholic Church with the corollary that any priesthood exercised by men is delegated and representative of the life of the Church. In other words, Christian priesthood is to be understood as "ministerial" rather than "magisterial," serving functionally within the on-going life of the Church in which it has an indispensable place, rather than having the life of the Church depend upon its prior existence.

Then naturally comes a discussion of the Eucharist or Holy Communion as the normative sacrament of the Church's on-going life, as Baptism is normative for what belonging to it means. In this act the priestly character of the Church as a whole is made manifest, and it is the operation which focuses the delegated priestly character of its ministers most sharply. The Eucharist is not a human ordinance, even though its details take the form of human obedience to God's command in Christ Jesus. Throughout the ages, the Church has understood that this response must include the elements of bread and wine, the re-statement in their Scriptural setting of the words of institution, and prayer that makes the fellowship of baptized believers participate in what is being done at the altar. Along with this goes the understanding that whoever officiates in the sacramental act is empowered and authorized by the Church so to officiate.

"The eucharistic Sacrifice, that storm-centre of controversy, is finding in our day a truly evangelical expression from the catholic side, when it is insisted that the sacrificial action is not any sort of re-immolation of Christ, nor a sacrifice additional to his one Sacrifice, but a participation in it. The true celebrant is Christ the high-priest, and the Christian people are assembled as members of his Body to present before God his sacrifice, and to be themselves offered up in sacrifice through their union with him. This, however, involves a repudiation of certain mediaeval developments, notably the habitual celebration of the Eucharist without the Communion of the people; or the notion that the offering of the Eucharist is the concern of the individual priest rather than of the assembled church; and, above all, any idea that in the Eucharist we offer a sacrifice to propitiate God. We offer it only because he has offered the one Sacrifice, once for all, in which we need to participate."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Father A. G. Hebert, in *Ways of Worship*.

The Eucharist is the dynamic act which focuses the priestly character of the Church's life, with the double orientation—Godward and man-ward. The word, *focus*, is used advisedly, because the Eucharist is meaningless apart from the setting of the total contact of Christian people with their God, with each other, and with the world. The Eucharist is thus the normative occasion and representative contact of God's redemption of his people. Sinful man responds in faith and love to the divine initiative. God's gift of the New Life in Christ is received. And in this setting the fellowship of those committed to God through Christ is identified with the saving work of Christ. In other words, the Eucharist dynamically and dramatically signifies what the Church exists to do in history, and it conveys the power to do it.

From this it follows that the Eucharist must be central in any rapprochement between Christian bodies. If there is to be mutuality on a significant level, it demands unity in the one Eucharist as the earnest of both churches sharing in the life of the one Catholic Church.

Episcopalians, and indeed all Anglicans, generally hold that the concepts of priesthood and Eucharist in the sense just given are not simply denominational traditions. They are essential parts of mainstream Christendom, so that the life of the Church would be deficient without them. Intercommunion with any other Christian body requires that there be some parallel acceptance and use of both concepts in the ongoing life of the other church, and if this is not overtly the case that steps be taken to bring it about. On any other terms, there would not really be intercommunion but rather an agreement or concordat between two essentially unlike groups. Intercommunion seems to suggest that the emphasis be first on parallel likenesses within which differences in administration are obviously secondary so that while the two negotiating bodies maintain their separate institutional existence, they are essentially one in priesthood and Eucharist.

There are indeed Anglicans who would prefer to spell out the concepts of both priesthood and Eucharist more sharply than they have been given here, but a mutual agreement for intercommunion on such terms as these between two churches would hardly be regarded as out-of-order by any Anglican.

Finally, what has been said is borne out by Canon 36, the canon providing for "the Ordination of Deacons and Priests in Special Cases." Questions which have been raised about the practicality of this canon for actual operations and about its constitutionality are not in point here. What the canon does, in any event, is to spell out certain basic

requirements for priesthood and Eucharist within the life of this Church which others must accept if they are to be accorded recognition by this Church as representing its on-going life. Certainly, an agreement for intercommunion could hardly require less.

The requirements are stated in detail in Section 3—where they are put in the form of law rather than doctrine, because canons are law, yet the theological implications seem to be clear.

"At the time of such ordination the person so to be ordained must subscribe and make in the presence of the Bishop a declaration that he believes the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God and to contain all things necessary to salvation; that in the ministration of Baptism he will unfailingly baptize with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He shall also undertake that in the celebration of the Holy Communion he will invariably use the elements of bread and wine, and will include in the service (1) a Prayer of Consecration, embodying the words and acts of our Lord in the Institutions of the Sacrament, an Offering, an Invocation of the Holy Spirit and a Thanksgiving, (2) the Lord's Prayer, and (3) the Apostles' Creed or Nicene Creed as the symbol of the faith and unity of the Holy Catholic Church." (The section concludes with a description of the kind of relationship with the Bishop as pastor of pastors which the ordinand is expected to accept and live by.)

In other words, the Episcopal Church understands that the whole Catholic Church in commissioning anyone to bear its priestly character must require him to be seriously within the tradition and life of on-going Catholic Christendom, and that the Eucharist is the norm for this tradition and life.

## JOHN WOOLMAN AND THE HOLY EXPERIMENT

By JOHN M. GESSELL

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When William Penn accepted in 1681 the vast territories in America in settlement of the debt of 16,000 pounds owed his father by Charles II, one result among other things, was the beginning of a Holy Experi-

ment. Pennsylvania was to be a commonwealth of saints—of saints in the accepted Christian sense, meaning those who had been called into new life in the Lord Jesus Christ. The Holy Experiment was to be an experiment of working out a common life lived in full consciousness of the meaning of the Christian gospel in the daily affairs of men. For William Penn, to the great dismay of his own family, had become a Quaker. With his conversion the flame of the Spirit within burned hotly. While it was bright enough to burn some Englishmen, intolerant Anglicans among them, in Penn it threw a great light on the meaning of human nature and its destiny.

Penn's convictions as a builder of a commonwealth arose out of his own experience as a citizen of the English nation, but a nation which tended to confound his cherished hopes for freedom of conscience and for the liberty of the Christian man. Out of successive frustrations with the law of English courts, scarcely tolerant of the claims of liberty under God, Penn turned his mind to the possibility of another beginning across the seas. For one thing that the light within dictated above all else was that God's creatures were equal in His sight and had an inalienable heritage expressed in terms of civil liberty and religious toleration. Penn's concern was the practical application of religious faith in politics. Pennsylvania meant the great hope of setting up a commonwealth of the City of God. Penn transferred his campaign for the fundamental rights of Englishmen to a new field, and this was the Holy Experiment.

Firmly embedded in the frame of government of the new commonwealth was this practical religious interest of the Quaker mind. The result was a reasonably liberal constitutional commonwealth. Penn the lawgiver was not extraordinarily liberal, and a later parliamentary revolution was to place Pennsylvania among the more democratic of the colonies, almost literally over Penn's dead body. But at the time the distinctive note rung in Penn's laws was the explicit statement of the relation of the Spirit-invaded soul to the source of all power in government, the Almighty God Himself. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God".<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be true that Penn sometimes confounded his own with God's aims, but the rights of Englishmen to that radical freedom of conscience (if so that they be Christian, however) were in principle laid down. The Great Law was established to "best preserve true Christian and Civil

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<sup>1</sup>Preface to the *First Frame of Government* (1682).



Liberty, in opposition to all Unchristian, Licentious, and unjust practices."<sup>2</sup>

And in the Charter of Privileges granted by Penn to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania in 1701, twenty years after the foundation of the commonwealth, these principles are reiterated. "Because no People can be truly happy tho' under the greatest Enjoyment of Civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences, as to their religious Profession and Worship; and Almighty God being the only Lord of conscience . . ."<sup>3</sup> such freedoms were to be maintained as the fundamental principle upon which the government of the Holy Experiment would rest.

Penn, the builder of a holy commonwealth, saw that the order and pattern of the state must be the order and pattern of God; and that the complexion of law and government was gained from the primary principle of the relation of the soul of man to the Light of all the world. Anything else would fail to preserve human rights and happiness.

The center of this Holy Experiment was the City of Philadelphia, named for the Biblical city of the Decapolis across Jordan. To be a center of practical brotherly love, set down between two great arteries of commerce, the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, Penn hoped it would remain a "pleasant, green country town," a household of faith for the saints, a center of life for the commonwealth, and a port of trade and commerce.

Philadelphia was, to look back on it from the perspective of years, the conception in miniature of the commonwealth presided over by the Holy Spirit. Philadelphia was indeed a pleasant and green country town, and while it was not always a striking example of brotherly love, the notion continued to be taken with great seriousness. In a remarkably short time it became a flourishing center of trade and marketing where honesty was the best policy in an era when each knew his neighbour, sometimes uncomfortably well. Laid out around five great green squares abundantly shaded, the residential streets moved in orderly procession between the two rivers, and extended three to five blocks north and south of the High street running through its center. Here the ideals of government were laid down. Here a graceful series of homes and public buildings were erected in the best taste of that excellent Georgian style, embellished by the architectural enrichment of the brothers Adam, and carried on there, as nowhere else in America,

<sup>2</sup>Preamble to the *Great Law* (1682).

<sup>3</sup>*Charter of Privileges* (1701), sec. 1.

by the integrity and honesty for form and design of the Carpenters' Guild. Strangely enough, slight attention was paid at first to the normal cultural requirements of the children of God for the arts (save building) and education. The Quaker oversight in this regard, no doubt stimulated by a "spiritual concern" that these were items well overlooked in the search for true simplicity, was later rectified and Philadelphia became the "Athens of America."

But God was not overlooked, for He lay embedded, in a sense, in the very souls of his creatures whose inner light was eloquent and compelling testimony to Him. And the center of this religious concern was the great meeting house of the Quaker yearly meeting, eventually built in strong simplicity (the brothers Adam were not allowed to embellish this material manifestation of a faith). The great hewn beams were a visible reminder of the fact that sturdy lives are girded by an undying faith in God Himself, the fount of all liberty and of all order in personal life and the life of the commonwealth.

I do not know whether Pennsylvania's Quaker colonials were familiar with Augustine's prayer, "Our hearts are restless until they find their rest in thee". But they acted in that accord. The healthy influence of the Quaker commonwealth spread over the Delaware Valley to embrace the farms and villages of the surrounding territory, including even that of New Jersey, from whence comes John Woolman. Curiously enough, the man whom I have selected as the great prototype of the Holy Experiment, in whose life the fruits of holy living were peculiarly evident, was not even a citizen of the Quaker city. But he knew it well and was in fact nurtured in its atmosphere and influence.

The best modern biography of John Woolman has been written by Janet Whitney,<sup>4</sup> who took a line from T. S. Eliot to epitomise Woolman's life. From one of the *Four Quartets*, "The Dry Salvages," Mrs. Whitney finds her personal colophon for Woolman:

. . . to apprehend  
The point of intersection of the timeless  
With time, is an occupation for a saint.

This could be as readily applied to Philadelphia as to Woolman, and for this reason it seems to me that Woolman can be used admirably to illustrate the genius of the city whose order was the order of God in

<sup>4</sup>*John Woolman, American Quaker* (Little, Brown, 1942).

a commonwealth which was designated as the Holy Experiment. Woolman lived in the heart of the 18th century and was inevitably linked in heritage with the foundation of the City of God in Pennsylvania.

To apprehend the point of intersection of the timeless with time, the occupation of the saints who lived the new life of God in Philadelphia, was also the personal vocation of John Woolman. Eliot's context goes further.

No occupation either, but something given  
And taken, in a lifetime's death in love,  
Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender.  
For most of us, there is only the unattended  
Moment, the moment in and out of time,  
The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight, . . .  
These are only hints and guesses  
Hints followed by guesses; and the rest  
Is prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action.  
The hint half guessed, the gift half understood, is Incarnation.\*

For Woolman, as for the Quakers of the City, unlike Mr. Eliot himself, the Incarnation is only half guessed. Perhaps too much pre-occupied with the meaning of the immanent Spirit and the light within, the principle of Incarnation in all of its explicit fulness in Jesus Christ, which says that God is terribly involved in His world and that His concern reaches even the extreme of His dying for it that it may be healed and restored, was often overlooked. But this serious fault was brilliantly, though only partially, overcome in the instinctive vocational calling to sainthood. In this Woolman stands as the living example for his kind. For Woolman felt precisely called to a lifetime of apprehension of the point of intersection of the timeless with time. Behind the Incarnation lies the fact of such an invasion of the Eternal into history and that point of intersection, which must with terrible urgency always be discerned to the best of the ability of the saint, means immediate confrontation and judgment. No ground rules may be established and no system of identifying marks may be set up by which the saints may know this point of confrontation. For the Eternal God is always immediately involved in His creation and the point of intersection comes in infinite times and places—in a man's decision, in a human judgment, in the pattern and order and structure of human relationships and institutions. The whole of human life is under the

\*T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943); quoted by permission.

eternal aspect of invasion and confrontation. Some know this, and some are terrifyingly unaware. The saints of the commonwealth of Philadelphia knew that a holy experiment meant this sort of awareness. John Woolman was a man who was especially aware and out of the community of brotherly love over which hovered the Spirit of God he drew the sustenance by which he pursued his saintly calling.

Woolman was not among those who lived in and out of time. For him the calling to be a saint meant living in the world and moving amongst its myriad possibilities with a hearty enjoyment. He approved those things which brought prosperity to the children of God and enjoyed being among them. But, on the other hand, he was sensible of the danger of the distraction fit as well. Acutely aware of the snare of wealth and possessions, he had no trouble in managing them and relegating them to their proper place as instruments for life, surely not as life's goals. That perversion would make a mockery of the creation of God. For Woolman, a moderate sufficiency, earned in such a manner as to ensure a measure of both liberty and leisure, was the proper balance for life in a world of things. Saints needed freedom to be able to turn their minds and consciences to the relation of the Eternal with His creatures. The perverted getting of goods and wealth would leave no time for the awareness of the movements of God in a man's life and in his soul.

Such a calling is a lifetime's calling and it begins early. Woolman's awareness of the meaning of religion is stated as the "inward life wherein the heart does reverence God the creator, and learns to exercise equal justice and goodness not only toward all men but also toward all creatures."<sup>9</sup> A reminder of Penn's conception that the order and pattern of the commonwealth is rooted in God's order, it also looks forward to Albert Schweitzer's reverence for all life because all life comes from God. By his seventh year, Woolman records, he was "sensible of [God's] love and often found a care upon me how I should please him."<sup>10</sup> Yes, how please God? An occupation for a saint, indeed. He prayed to the Lord for help and was deeply aware of the meaning of the worshiping meeting by which one makes his communion with God in silence and the spoken word, to his soul's refreshment; and above all of the heavy responsibility for breaking that silence of the Spirit lest one confound his own movements of the soul with those of the Spirit within.

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<sup>9</sup>John Woolman's *Journal*.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

This deep and sensitive awareness of the real issues of religious living nurtured the saint Woolman and gave him strength to pursue man's truest occupation, to discern God in constant relation to the world, and the meaning of that relationship for oneself. Here is the Holy Experiment at its highest level. The response to the point of the 'Timeless in its invasion into my time is, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" There is no question here of what I would like to do. For God is the author of the commonwealth of saints. Woolman records the feeling that he had laid upon him as a young man of twenty-one.\* The extreme disorder of a public house in his own town raised up a problem to be settled, for God was involved here as well. Others should go . . . but others had not gone. Woolman, with exquisite tact, not of his own accord, but by the movement of the Spirit, spoke with the tavern keeper and the tavern became a model for other taverns to copy. What happened? Woolman approached the man and pointed out that he had a responsibility as a host to be concerned for the welfare of his guests. God had raised up two saints.

But this illustrates a principle, and principles for Woolman always had to issue in practical matters. The implications of the inevitable invasion of God into a man's life meant the development of a keen social conscience backed by all the personal intellect and force which God had given him. Wealth was a distraction to the life of the commonwealth of saints, and whereas there is a point at which the necessities of life can be conveniently met for the fullest development of God-given powers and abilities, wealth was also, Woolman was convinced, at the root of war. Here the peace-testimony of Quakers was examined and illuminated by Woolman. The problem was not merely to set forth the reasons for which Quakers could not in all conscience take up arms, but to set forth as well the reasons for which wars occur and to attempt to take positive steps to ensure that they cease to occur.

The social conscience of the saint so occupied inevitably found itself necessarily inveighing against injustice and social disorder. Men are equal under God, and justice and liberty is their right. Disorder is of man's making and is contrary to God's will, for order and pattern come from God and are a gift to man. From such principles Woolman found himself impelled to journey into the South to converse with Southern Quakers on slavery. Not a task of his own seeking, but nonetheless a task laid upon him, Woolman visited in the homes of Quakers

\**Ibid.* See John Woolman, *American Quaker*, Ch. X.

in Virginia and Carolina, from the Valley to Tidewater, and labored with them under the impulsion of the Spirit and an uneasy mind. Again with the tact and love that comes of a healthy mind and of the security that is God-given, Woolman was welcomed by hosts who bore his presence, though his words robbed them of their complacency. His conversations probed deep and searched the soul and left his friends troubled. For these Southern Quakers could not deny the rectitude of Woolman's witness to the demands of God whose coming into a tragic and unjust social system was clearly discernible in a judgment that was eventually to engulf a whole nation.

The real tragedy was that the saints in the South could not bear the saintly task. Better success was obtained in Philadelphia when after several years of laboring under this concern, slavery was repudiated. Here again the genius of Woolman went to the deeper level. Slavery was bad not merely because it denied human liberty, but because it also corroded the souls of those who thus treated another human being as an animal.

Thus it was that the genius of Woolman was a fruit of the genius of the city of saints who seriously undertook a holy experiment under God. Woolman's life spanned both the achievement of the results of the Quaker commonwealth and the beginning of decline. The epilogue is less edifying. For it was in Woolman's own lifetime that the Quakers left the responsibility of governing to others. In withdrawing from the Colonial Assembly in 1756 over the controversy regarding policy during a time of armed conflict, these men preserved the integrity of their principles but denied their saintly vocation. The next period of history of Penn's experiment was marked by the withdrawal to "quietism," that inner citadel of personal holiness. But this was to abjure the responsibility for discernment of the meeting of the Timeless with time. It was to relax the inevitable tension between the calling to holiness and the necessary involvement of responsibility in an imperfect world in which unsaintly men also may walk to and fro. The vocation of the dweller in the City of God is to apprehend not only the meaning of the Timeless but His intersection-point in time by the refusal to relinquish the public task. In our century Quakers have once again given their attention to public responsibilities, but this is another saga.

Would this be the outcome of the failure to receive in its fullness the "Gift half understood," this failure to act upon the incarnational principle of responsibility through involvement? Today one may stand on the plaza in front of the Philadelphia Museum and look down the great



boulevard flanked by billowing rows of button-wood trees into the nest of buildings that is the heart of a great modern city—not so much unlike any other save for the fascinating and bizarre conglomeration of style and manner. The baroque, the gothic, and the classic lie in close proximity to the modern. Yet one may recall that at the far end of the city there still lie a few feet, preserved along Elfreth's Alley, of the charming Georgian homes of the 18th century city exhibiting today, beneath the dirt and grime of industry and commerce along the waterfront, the pattern and order of life so clearly symbolized in domestic building. These reflections reach across two centuries and may be worth no more than that. Ringing around the central city, and slowly strangling it, is a large girdle of slums as bad as any in the nation. The saints of the holy experiment have largely moved outside of the city and have left their former dwellings to the ravages and ravishings of a newer and less consecrated breed of men. In the charm of modern Philadelphia, its snatches of 18th century order, and in its small quiet streets with the chimney pots reminding one, as does Boston, of old Europe, there lies also the sense of tragedy in the loss of true vocation. The city is no longer holy, for the saints have left long ago. Nor is it an experience of commonwealth under God, from whom comes all order and pattern and strength for the saintly vocation. Life in the city is generally only to be endured as in any great modern city. In the midst of disorder, so hated by Woolman, one has little time and energy to continue the experiment of Penn.

It is true, however, that Philadelphia still has a lesson to teach, though different than that of the commonwealth of the Quakers. By negation we see for our time that the true vocation of these saints of God is to continue, with the sense of peril at our failure, to apprehend the meaning of the point of intersection of God and His world.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO THE MAINTENANCE AND EXTENSION OF FREEDOM

By M. MORAN WESTON

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The contribution of the Episcopal Church to the maintenance and extension of freedom in the social order is to be found chiefly in its general teachings about the nature and relationship of God, man and

society, rather than in its statements or declarations about freedom in general or specific issues relating thereto. The contribution is to be found, further, in the total life and work of the Church, its worship, its sacraments, its adult instruction, its Church school for youth and children, and in its many social services.

In its life and work, as well as in its formal teaching, the Church affirms (a) the sovereignty of God, (b) the worth and dignity of each individual person, (c) the supremacy of moral law, derived from God, in the life of the individual and in the affairs of government and state, and (d) the imperative obligation to regulate all life in accordance with the purpose of God as revealed to men in the Bible, the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, and the teachings and traditions of the Christian Church. The Church's emphasis on responsible citizenship flows naturally from these affirmations.

#### CHURCH AND STATE

An important aspect of the Church's contribution to freedom is its attitude toward the State and its working policy in its relations with government.

While no official version of the doctrine of separation of church and state has been formulated, this traditional principle has been implicit in the actions of official bodies. This principle is also reflected in the Church's Articles of Religion, in its Canon Law, and in the Book of Common Prayer.

Generally speaking, it has been assumed that in civil affairs the State is supreme, but, at the same time, is subject to moral law, which comes from God. The duty of the Church is to be the conscience of society and, therefore, of the State. . . . On the whole, the majority view at the General Convention over the years . . . has claimed the right to speak out on ethical issues involved in public affairs and in the policy of the State. It has also claimed the right to advocate broad social goals, and to petition the State to promote them. . . . It has also exercised the right to petition the national Government to enact, modify, or repeal specific laws or policy.<sup>1</sup>

#### EPISCOPAL SOCIAL POLICY AND ACTION

The only body competent to make declarations on behalf of the whole Church is the General Convention, which meets every three years. The Convention is composed of the House of Bishops, which includes all

<sup>1</sup>M. Moran Weston, "Social Policy of the Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century," pp. 382 ff. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University microfilm).

bishops of the Church, and the House of Deputies, which is composed of clerical and lay deputies from dioceses and missionary districts. There are seventy-five dioceses and twenty-seven missionary districts, including those overseas. Official statements of the Convention must be by concurrent action of both Houses.

The House of Bishops may issue statements on its own behalf which carry great moral authority but which do not have the status of general declarations of the Church. In addition, the Presiding Bishop may make declarations or take actions which carry weight by virtue of his high and singular office, but which may not be construed as declarations of the Church generally.

In addition, the National Council, which is the policy-making and administrative body of the Church which functions between the General Conventions, may issue statements or take actions which it considers in line with the general policy of the Church.

Each diocese has an annual convention, composed of its bishop or bishops, its clergy and a specified number of lay deputies from each parish and mission. This convention is the legislative and policy-making body for the diocese and may issue statements or take actions which it considers within its competence. And, except in a general and moral way, it is not bound by the actions of the General Convention or other national bodies. Between conventions of the diocese, the Bishop and his executive council are the body competent to act in ways and matters in keeping with the policy and legislation of the convention.

However, the bishop of each diocese enjoys considerable freedom and his statements often carry considerable moral authority not only within his diocese but sometimes in larger areas. Thus, a statement by the bishop of an influential diocese might represent an important contribution to the maintenance and extension of freedom.

Likewise, the rector of an influential metropolitan parish, or the dean of a cathedral church, or the dean or professor of an Episcopal theological seminary, may acquire such prestige that his statements or actions may have an important effect on the course and status of freedom.

Perhaps more important than the action of official church bodies or bishops and other clergy, is the action of the laity as they pursue their daily occupations or take part in public affairs as citizens. Emphasis on responsible citizenship is a recurring theme in the teaching of the Church and in the social policy adopted by the General Convention on a wide variety of public issues. While exact data are not available, common knowledge suggests that many Episcopalians take an active

part in civic affairs. For example, while Episcopal communicants comprise only a fraction more than one per cent of the population, in 1952 they accounted for approximately twelve per cent of both Houses of the Congress. In 1928, they comprised twenty-five and ten per cent of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively.

This process and the channels through which statements may be made or actions taken have been outlined to show that a full evaluation of the contribution of the Episcopal Church would need to take into account more than statements and actions by its national or central bodies.

Complete information on actions of all diocesan groups and the bishops in this area has yet to be compiled. Some examples, however, will be given in this article. Except for these examples, this article will be limited to actions of the General Convention, the National Council, and the Office of the Presiding Bishop.

#### *I. Statements or Declarations of the Episcopal Church on Freedom* THE GENERAL CONVENTION

Prior to 1949, the General Convention adopted only one resolution specifically relating to freedom and civil liberty. This resolution, passed by the General Convention of 1922, said in part:

This Church deplores any tendency on the part of some in authority to limit free discussion of the principles of social justice as these are believed in by large groups of men and women in America, and affirms its belief that no Christian democracy is possible unless such be based on the principles involved in free assembly, free discussion of national issues, a free press, and a free pulpit.

Subsequently, the national Department of Christian Social Service authorized a study of syndicalist laws of such states as Michigan, California, Oregon and New York. There is no record that such a study was conducted or a report filed. About the same time, the Social Service Commission of the Diocese of New York published a critical report of the New York Lusk Law, which was made by a committee which included the Hon. George Wickersham, former United States Attorney General.

The next action by the General Convention was in 1949 when it passed a general resolution in support of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. The resolution directed the national Department of Christian Social Relations to prepare study material based on the declaration, and ordered copies of the resolution to be sent to the

President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The resolution reads as follows:

Recognizing in the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, as approved by the General Assembly on December 10th, 1948, a statement of principles and objectives to be sought through which people of all religions and all faiths can give expression of their highest aspirations;

Resolved: that the General Convention directs the Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council to prepare materials for the study of the declaration by groups within the Church.

It urges every congregation in the Episcopal Church to set aside a period for consideration of this declaration in relation to the community in which it is located, so that the members of each church can determine how they may usefully undertake to fulfill its objectives in their own lives and in their church organizations. It expresses its belief that the security of the United States, along with that of other countries, can be achieved only as everyone, everywhere in the world, is progressively assured basic human rights set forth in the declaration.

To this end the Convention looks forward to the development of further international conventions and agreements in the field of Human Rights, and urges that the United States continue its efforts in this field.

It further expresses its support of the International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and urges its immediate approval by the United States Senate and its ratification by the President.

It recommends that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and to the Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

The same Convention of 1949 received a report from its Joint Commission on Social Reconstruction, which had been established in 1940, to give attention to social issues and developments, and authorized the printing of this report in the official proceedings of the Convention. This report includes the following section:

Another area in which Christian Social Relations committees can be an important factor is in the matter of Human Rights. Both at home and abroad great sections of the population are still denied their full rights as citizens. Underprivileged people in all parts of the world look to this great country to set an example of justice and equal opportunity. The first step in establishing equality for all is a vigorous effort, expressed in legislation, to secure

full civil rights for every citizen of the United States. The Church must demand, both corporately and through its individual communicants, that the brotherhood of man and the equality of all in the sight of God, be best recognized by the nation, immediately and fully. The Church must also support wholeheartedly the efforts of the United Nations to promote the adoption by law, in all member nations, of the proposed convention on Human Rights. Only in this way can the Bill of Human Rights recently adopted by the Assembly of the United Nations be made effective.

The following General Convention of 1952 passed a similar resolution, the preamble of which sets forth some of the theological and political imperatives for freedom. The resolution is as follows:

Whereas, we believe that the nature and destiny of man by virtue of his creation, redemption, and calling, and man's activities in family, State, and culture establish limits beyond which a government cannot with impunity go; and

Whereas, we further believe that respect for and observance of human rights constitute an essential cornerstone for building a world society where peace and justice can prevail; and

Whereas, the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in many parts of the world both degrade man and jeopardize world peace; therefore be it

Resolved, that the members of this Convention

I. Encourage and support full participation by the United States in international action through the United Nations to the end that the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all men may be promoted, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

II. Use every reasonable means to overcome long standing discriminatory practices in our own land; and particularly in these days when we seek to oppose the threat of totalitarianism from without, to guard against our own use of the methods which we condemn in others.

A companion resolution dealt specifically with the problem of racial discrimination and it reads as follows:

Whereas, Christ teaches above all the Fatherhood of God, the consequent Brotherhood of man and the oneness of the whole human family; and

Whereas, present-day developments, leading to an increasing interdependence of nations and peoples, are making ever clearer the necessity of Christ's way of brotherhood; and

Whereas, Christ's teaching is incompatible with every form of discrimination based on color or race both of domestic and international; and



Whereas, almost every country today, including our own, is guilty in greater or less degree of mass racial or color discrimination. therefore be it

Resolved, that we consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form, both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally.

These 1952 General Convention resolutions were complemented by a statement adopted by the Triennial meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council, which met at the same time. The statement entitled "Christian Citizenship and Social Responsibility" does not have the status of a general pronouncement of the Church, but does represent the overwhelming consensus of the leadership of the Woman's Auxiliary and the women's organizations of the Episcopal Church, through whom much if not most of the educational work on the parish level relating to social situations and problems is conducted. The statement urged the women of the Church to "exert their influence in the light of Christian principles" with reference to several types of issues among which were the following:

Protection of our freedoms, such as free speech, against threats from without and within, lest we be led to fighting communism with its own method;

Extension of human rights to all, both at home and abroad, regardless of race, color, and creed, with special emphasis on our own parishes and communities; . . .

Extension of the privilege of the vote to all in our nation who still lack that privilege: members of minority groups are still disfranchised, and citizens residing in the nation's capital.

#### THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS

The Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops in 1940 said in part:

The Christian Gospel proclaims the eternal worth and dignity of every human soul. The recognition of this is not only the reasonable foundation of our faith in democracy, but is likewise indispensable to the progress and highest good of people under any form of government. The Gospel, by its very nature, abhors all of the regimentation, all totalitarian schemes of mass control, all claims of class or racial superiority, and all economic injustices, because they deny the sacredness of human personality.

The Church must stand boldly for freedom of conscience, of speech and of worship. In the Christian religion is found for all men everywhere, the hope of social progress, the conquest of poverty, disease and of every condition that makes for moral failure and degradation.

Again in 1947, the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops addressed itself to certain aspects of the issue of freedom in these words:

As Bishops in the Church of God we call upon the people of our churches to be on their guard lest an hysterical fear of Communism shall lead us to fight that danger with weapons destructive of the treasures we seek to guard. The surest way to fight Communism is to work unceasingly at home and abroad for a society in which justice and the dignity of freemen are in truth guaranteed to men of every race and condition. An inquisitorial investigation of men's personal belief is a threat to freedom of conscience. The casting of public suspicion on fellow citizens under the protection of Congressional immunity can readily become an offense against God's commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'

The 1952 Pastoral Letter makes the following reference to the problem of freedom: "We still speak of *freedom* to a generation which hardly dares any more to believe that freedom means anything or is worth fighting for."

#### THE PRESIDING BISHOP

An example of the way in which the office of the Presiding Bishop may contribute to the maintenance and extension of freedom may be seen in the acceptance by the present Presiding Bishop, the Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, D.D., of the chairmanship of the Committee on Maintenance of American Freedom of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. In other ways a presiding bishop may lend the great weight of his office to voluntary citizen efforts in this direction.

A further illustration of this type of contribution is the statement made by the present Presiding Bishop to the House of Bishops at its meeting in November, 1953, in which he said in part:

The meeting here is symboic not only of the historic past, but it has deep significance for the problems of our own day. It should hardly be necessary to state that the Christian Church is opposed to Communism as a threat not only to individual freedom but indeed to everything for which the Christian religion stands. But it is necessary to make this statement, for there have been broad generalizations and accusations, particularly against those Churches which have a democratic tradition. The fact is that the Christian Churches are the greatest bulwark against atheism and the wide philosophy and practice of communism. It is not simply a matter of pronouncements but of all that happens on the parish level: the

training of children the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, the worship of Almighty God. The Church is equally opposed to what may be described as creeping fascism. We know from our brethren of the Churches abroad that often fascism has come upon them unawares. We are against trial by uninformed public opinion, against accusations by hearsay . . . we are for fairness, and justice, as a part both of Christianity and of our democratic way of life.

This statement was incorporated as a quotation in the Pastoral Letter which was issued by the House of Bishops at that time.

Attention may be drawn, also, to the membership of the Episcopal Church in the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, and its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through which organizations a variety of efforts in support of freedom have been made and continue to be made.

#### DIOCESAN BISHOPS AND CONVENTIONS

A review of the official proceedings of the conventions or convocations of ninety dioceses and missionary districts for the year 1953-1954, showed that in eight instances the bishops discussed some aspect of the maintenance and extension of freedom and in seven instances diocesan conventions passed resolutions relating thereto. These comments and resolutions may be roughly classified as follows: (a) affirmation of the Church's opposition to communism and support of effective action to combat it; (b) the necessity to defend basic freedoms, to resist pressure toward conformity, and to oppose communism with wise legislation and levelheadedness; (c) the necessity to reform investigative procedures of Congressional committees; and (d) the duty of the Church to teach responsible citizenship.

Two examples will serve to illustrate this kind of action by diocesan bishops and conventions. In his address to the 173rd Convention of the Diocese of New York in 1954, the Bishop of New York, the Right Reverend Horace W. B. Donegan, D.D., made the following affirmations about freedom and the responsibility of the Church to maintain it:

It is encouraging, also, to see the Church out in front in the defense of our accustomed liberties of old against the excesses and abuses of the Congressional investigating power and the mentality of fear and suspicion which has resulted.

A sign that the Church is on the move in this realm is attested to by the vocalization of resistance to the Church's activity in the area of public moral issues. How often we hear and read in our unsolicited correspondence: "That's not the Church's business;

why doesn't the Church stick to religion?" or "Why do you allow your clergy to say that?"

I want to take this occasion to affirm two fundamental principles of which we cannot be reminded too often, as we think of the pulpit in these times. First: God is concerned with all that affects the life of the sons of men. Therefore the Church in its teaching and preaching must display no less concern. We cannot confine God within the four walls of a Church building. His judgments and His grace must be made manifest in terms of the important public issues of our day no less than in terms of personal piety and individual relationships. As I have said on other occasions, it is not the Church's responsibility to advocate particular candidates or endorse particular legislation. But it most certainly is the Church's task and, in particular, a Bishop's solemn responsibility by virtue of his consecration vows, to alert Church people, and all who will listen, to the religious and moral issues of our day. Nor should we deal only with vague generalities; what we say should be relevant, timely and to the point. I say to the clergy let your pulpits send forth no uncertain sound. Use wisdom, diplomacy and tact in preaching the Gospel—but let there be no doubt as to where the Church stands in regard to the social issues which face this generation.

Secondly, in the exercise of his prophetic ministry the preacher does not claim infallibility. And while we may all agree with the religious and ethical principles which he is proclaiming we may not agree with the application he makes or the propriety of his timing. But let it be understood that the Episcopal Church believes in the freedom of the pulpit. Our policy is especially effective in preserving it, and no one can tell a priest or Bishop what to say or what not to say unless he be guilty of heresy. This is a right which is essential to the health of the Church, and to its power to witness against evil—even popular evil—and for the will of God in our times. I am proud that in these days, as of old, the pulpits of our Churches are courageously and wisely bringing the eternal perspective to bear on our temporal scene. Such outspokenness, made more effective through a free press, is helping to save our Nation from the demonic-ism which would destroy our free way of life, and from the corruptions and inequities which would undermine it.

This statement of the Bishop opened the Convention. Subsequently the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Diocese of New York submitted its report which included the following resolution, which was adopted by the Convention:

Whereas, there has been aroused among American citizens a justifiable anxiety concerning the efforts of Communists to under-

mine the foundations upon which our ideas of liberty under law have been built, and

Whereas, this anxiety has given rise to a trend of hysteria which has been exploited by self-seeking politicians, and

Whereas, the trend so described has led to the abuse of loyal citizens and has generated in the officers and employees of our State Department and of our Department of Defense a fear to forward information and advice fully and adequately, lest their motives be misunderstood and their loyalty recklessly impugned, and

Whereas, the efforts of certain committees of Congress to expose un-American activities and the incompetent conduct of the affairs of government have been characterized by such disregard of American concepts of justice and fair play as to make the Committees the very exemplars of the evils which they were set up to extirpate; now, therefore be it

Resolved: that this Convention deem it to be its duty (1) to remind each and every member of any Congressional investigating committee that it is of the essence of democracy in America to tolerate a difference of views and not to punish dissent until it has been pressed to violation of law and established as such by due proof and not by innuendo or suggestion; (2) to urge the said Committees to end the practice of hearings conducted by a single committeeman; and (3) to suggest to the said Committees that the public interest requires that they show due respect for the constitutional guarantees which witnesses called before them enjoy under the Bill of Rights; and be it further

Resolved: that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Senators from the State of New York, to the Representatives from every Congressional district in this State lying in whole or in part within the Diocese of New York, and to the personnel of each Committee of Congress which has been entrusted with powers of investigation.

## *II. Individuals Responsible for Inspiration or Composition of Official Declarations*

Any member of the House of Bishops or the House of Deputies of the General Convention is free and competent to introduce resolutions on this subject. In recent years most resolutions on social issues have been initiated, prepared and presented by the Joint Commission on Social Reconstruction of the General Convention, which until 1952 was headed by the Right Reverend William Scarlett, D.D., Bishop of Missouri, now retired. In recent years each General Convention has appointed a Joint Committee on National and International Problems to which all resolutions on social and international affairs are referred and which has the power to initiate resolutions on its own behalf. Even

though certain deputies may have been members of this committee for more than one Convention, it would not seem appropriate or fair to single out any particular person.

The national Department of Christian Social Relations also, has the power of initiative in presenting resolutions to the National Council which in turn may refer them to the General Convention for action. In so far as maintenance of the traditional separation of Church and State may be viewed as an aspect of the problem of freedom in this country, a resolution submitted to the National Council at its February meeting in 1948 on the initiative of the Department of Christian Social Relations may be cited as illustrative of this process. The Director of the Department submitted a resolution to the Department which approved it and passed it on to the National Council, which in turn ratified it, establishing a Standing Committee on Church and State of the National Council. This Committee was to be concerned largely with the issues of the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican, the use of tax funds for Church school and the teaching of religious instruction in the public schools.

### III. *The Extent to Which Statements Have Been Publicized*

In recent years, all resolutions or statements of the General Convention and the statements by the House of Bishops relating to social issues or problems have been published by the National Council in pamphlet form under the general title *Christian Social Relations at General Convention*. These pamphlets are generally sold at ten cents each and are distributed by request only. The usual printing per issue is about 25,000. Certain of the resolutions receive attention in the daily and weekly press at the time of General Convention. Many of them may be reprinted in diocesan publications and in parochial papers. Further use of them may be made by clergy and study groups. Such publications are regularly drawn to the attention of diocesan leadership interested in this area of the Church's ministry, particularly the diocesan departments of Christian Social Relations. The official magazine of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, *Forth*, is another channel for publicizing these and related matters.

In addition to the official publications and channels, there are four independent Episcopal periodicals, which regularly publicize important statements and other actions of the Church. The columns of these magazines also report statements and other actions of individual bishops, other clergy and laymen.



The 1952 General Convention, on the recommendation of its National Council and its Program and Budget Committee, authorized the creation of a new administrative unit to provide additional leadership through the National Council in the field of Christian social responsibility. This unit is known as the Division of Christian Citizenship and is part of the national Department of Christian Social Relations. The total program of the Division may be seen as a contribution to the maintenance and extension of freedom. One of the Division's six program themes is "Human Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities." Three new brochures, designed for mass distribution in the Church and dealing with this program, have been published. They are:

*Roadmap of Christian Citizenship.*  
*Monday Through Saturday Belong to God Too.*  
*The Church: Bulwark Against Communism.*

No exact knowledge is available of the ways in which the members of the Church have used these and related declarations. Generally, they are used as a resource for study courses and educational meetings conducted by women's organizations throughout the Church on a parochial and diocesan basis. Some diocesan departments of Christian Social Relations conduct workshops and one-day conferences which may relate to some aspect of these problems. Further, the clergy will make use of them in their sermons and in other teaching materials. It would be difficult to determine more precisely the use of such statements by the members of the Church.

NOTE. The above article was originally prepared as a memorandum in reply to a request for information from the Fund of the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation to concern itself with the maintenance of freedom in America.

## WHERE IS OUR AUTHORITY? A BAPTIST VIEW

By HILLYER H. STRATON

Malden, Massachusetts

No one of a thoughtful turn of mind who witnesses a service of ordination, with its laying on of hands, can fail to raise the question of what takes place. Down through the centuries this rite has been practiced in the Christian church. There are those who believe that there is some type of transmission of authority from older to younger. Others

see in it only a matter of the spirit. Ordination dramatizes the matter of authority.

A good definition of "authority" for our purpose is: an object of allegiance and guidance in the religious pilgrimage. One answer to the question of authority is that it resides *in the church* and its traditions. This is the Roman Catholic answer. Because authority is in the church there is development through the years, as indicated by the following examples: Peter, whom our Roman Catholic friends claim as the first pope, was a married man, now the clergy does not marry. As recently as 1870 the Roman pontiff was declared infallible. The doctrine of the assumption of the Virgin Mary was announced in 1950 of immediate memory. Consequently, throughout the history of the church it is possible for apparently new doctrines of the faith to arise.

A second answer is that authority is found *in the Bible*. This is the fundamental answer of Protestantism. Get back to the Bible and you eliminate many errors and abuses that have grown up in Catholicism through the centuries. For many the Bible actually becomes an idol—the book is worshipped more than the Creator; theologians call it "bibliolatry." This is directly contrary to the teaching of the Bible itself. One clear illustration is that incident where Jesus was asked about divorce because Moses permitted it. Divorce was allowed by the Levitical law but Jesus went back of the law to the primeval position of one man for one woman (Mark 10:4, 5).

A third answer is that authority is found *in conscience*. This is the answer of some Christian thinkers. At first glance it appears plausible, but raises major questions: Whose conscience? And what about consciences trained differently from ours?

The fourth answer is that our authority is found *in Christ*. This is the newest and at the same time the oldest answer. Peter gave it originally, "Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life" (John 6:68). Through the centuries Christians have found inexhaustible riches in the New Testament accounts of Jesus' life, words, and saving deeds. The authority of Christ is to be found in all of these. Christians have been instinctively drawn to this answer. We find it in such classics as Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, and in our own day that best seller by Charles Sheldon, *In His Steps*. When a problem of ethics or personal action faces us we almost instinctively ask, "What would Jesus do?" The authority of Christ in some form is the answer given by the collective mind of christian thinkers as seen in the churches' greatest theologians working in the new ecumenical coun-

cils of the World Council of Churches. Students of the Reformation recall how there was an oscillation between the pull of the traditional and the constant urge to make a completely fresh start. One of the interesting developments was connected with that of John Smyth who around 1607 baptized himself. Later he was troubled in mind by what he had done in setting up a new church without apostolic succession. His followers saw clearer than did he the significance of the action that they had taken. They went so far as to actually excommunicate Smyth from the church he had founded. Here was the group mind instinctively feeling that it had made a new beginning, that the authority was not in the apostolic succession or laying on of hands but was something new, it was the spirit of Christ himself who ordained or gave validity to baptism.

Most of our Protestant forebears knew that the Bible was intimately connected with their own beliefs. It became for them a source for faith and practice. When they had to choose between the Bible and the church there was the pressure to choose the Bible for the Bible was the only recognized source by all Christians of what they believed God actually had said and done. It provided boundaries to check excesses in groups which after having withdrawn from established churches were especially prone to further splintering. We find the Bible constantly appealed to.

A Reformation *Confession of Faith* of 1677 says: "Holy Scriptures [are the] infallible rule of all saving knowledge." Yet many of the creeds and confessions of faith do not even mention the Bible. They simply assume it as an authority. A factor that many overlook is that, though the Bible was given a place of preeminence by our forefathers, even those who made excessive claims for the Bible as a religious source or for the restoration of New Testament Christianity did not insist upon a literal interpretation of biblical injunctions. Old Testament cultic regulations were not binding, yet the Old Testament still had an authority, as historic confessions of faith such as the Westminster constantly show. It may come as a shock to some to realize that *New Testament regulations and even commands were not necessarily accepted*, as with baptism for the dead (I Cor. 15:29) and anointing with oil. Except for a small group of fringe Christians, *even a literal command from the lips of Jesus*, such as foot-washing (John 13) has not been sufficient to change this over-all fact.

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<sup>1</sup>W. J. McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*. Amer. Bapt. Pub. Soc., p. 227.

What then is our norm? Most evangelical Protestants have held that they are led by the Holy Spirit, that the collective Christian mind under the guidance of our Lord himself leads us into all truth. Total loyalty to the mind of Christ does not necessarily involve minute matters such as foot-washing or the literal carrying out of speaking with tongues. To our forebears one was obviously a teaching of humility in an oriental setting and the other a local manifestation with no relevance for a later day. Great and conservative scholars *have not* held to verbal literalism. It was E. Y. Mullins who said: "Jesus expressly rejected the view that all parts of the Bible are equally absolute and final . . . the biblical revelation is congruous with man's general intellectual and religious life. . . . Biblical revelation is sufficient, certain and authoritative for *all religious ends*."<sup>2</sup> In A. H. Strong's *Systematic Theology* we find the following: "The Bible presents divine truth in human form. . . . Inspiration did not guarantee inerrancy." He also speaks of "the Bible *in spite of its imperfections* in matters non-essential to its religious purpose furnished a safe and sufficient guide to truth and salvation."<sup>3</sup> In a sermon preached in Calvary Baptist Church, New York City, in 1922, at the beginning of the modernist-fundamentalist controversy, and printed in the Calvary Pulpit, John Roach Straton said: "Whenever reverent and devout scholarship *points a better way through its sacred pages, we will gladly and gratefully follow*. But as we look at it in the right way, we see shining through it the glorious and divine face of the Saviour of the world. The shadows in the Book and its dim and obscure touches are an essential part of the total effect. And its authority is not arbitrary and artificial, but inspirational and vital."

For a multitude of both ancient and modern Christians, Christ is the authority and his authority is that of the Incarnation. The authority of Christ is essentially the action of God as revealed in His Son. It is put in the context of redemption and the whole redemptive history. Two Christian scholars of widely divergent affiliation unite in their confirmation of this position. Cunliffe-Jones, a Congregationalist, says: "If we ask whether the authority of God in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus is an absolute and irreformable authority, the answer is that it is, subject to the fact that it is conditional upon a relationship of personal trust. . . . But the absolute authority of God in Christ is set in the context of free trust and operates within that relationship."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>*Christian Religion In Its Doctrinal Expression*, pp. 147, 149, 151.

<sup>3</sup>*Systematic Theology*, pp. 213, 215, 235, 242, 218.

<sup>4</sup>Cunliffe-Jones, *Interpretation*, (Jan., 1952), p. 36.

In a similar vein Georges Florovsky of the Eastern Orthodox tradition writes: "The Bible is closed just because the Word of God is incarnate. Our ultimate term of reference is now not a book but a living person. Yet the Bible still holds its authority—not only as a record of the past, but also a prophetic book."<sup>6</sup> *The living Christ is our final authority.* This authority is sufficient only as our relation to Christ is one of faith.

We come to the question of what is the nature of Christ's authority? This after all is the crucial question, for simply to say, "our authority is in Christ," without explaining our meaning, is mere verbalism, however pious. We can go back to his own answer when he was asked by a group of critics, "What is your authority?" (Matt. 21:23 f.). He replied by asking them a question: "Was the baptism of John from heaven or by man?" Back of his question is his own statement in Matt. 17:9 that John was the Elijah who was to precede the Messiah. For Jesus then the question of authority is the question of the Kingdom of God. In other words, Jesus is saying that authority lies in the *ability to appreciate moral judgments in the light of total revelation.* To paraphrase: John came with a moral demand, in the line of God's total historical revelation and you are so blind that you do not accept it. My authority is the same as that of John—namely, God. Was John in fact the herald of the coming Kingdom or not? If he was, then his authority was that of a commission from the living God. John was to announce the coming of the Kingdom as an imminent fact. The Kingdom could not come apart from high morality that had often been forgotten. John denounced as a generation of vipers those who came seeking an easy rectitude in the coming Kingdom by simply submitting to an outward baptism. His injunction was: "Bear fruits that besit repentance." John went to his death for fearlessly denouncing the loose living of the ruling monarch. When asked concretely "What then shall we do?", John replied, "He who has two coats let him share with him who has none." It is always difficult to put a high spiritual experience in specific terms without slipping into moralism, but even Jesus said that if we were forced to go one mile we ought to go two. By his question concerning John, Jesus declares that as in John the Kingdom was announced, so in his own ministry God's Kingdom is breaking through in undeniable power. God is working out His salvation before your very eyes, was the gist of what John proclaimed. Do you believe it? Will you act upon it? In the Kingdom which Jesus

<sup>6</sup>*Biblical Authority Today*, p. 222.

heralds the tree that does not bear fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Jesus says to his listeners: You must assent to the truth of God's activity in your midst. Jesus constantly challenges us to think through the divine demands, "Judge for yourselves. . . . My works testify. . . . What think ye?" Even Jesus does not override our minds and hearts. Christ's authority does not destroy man's selfhood, man is free to say yes or no. Christ establishes his authority not by coercion but by calling all men to examine the work of God through him, in the light of the total picture of redemptive history. In other words, *Christ's authority is one of persuasion through love.*

We have a holy obligation to use the Bible as Jesus used it. In Luke 9:51-56 there is the account of James and John who wanted to call fire down from heaven on the Samaritans who were not willing to receive Jesus. James and John felt that they had good Old Testament precedent in the prophet Elijah (2 Kings 1:9-16). The response of Jesus was devastating then and thoroughly enlightening now, "and he said, 'You do not know what manner of spirit you are of; for the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them'". (Luke 9:55, 56, R.S.V. margin; K.J.V. text). Here Jesus went back to his fundamental position of the moral righteousness of God at the heart of the universe over which no biblical precedent, however strong, or authority, however venerable, could ride, even if it were that of a Moses or an Elijah. It is the position that the story of God's redemption of mankind has as its theme the salvation of life, not its destruction. For Jesus the Bible could never be used to support an action which goes squarely against God's redemptive purposes in history. Elijah's action is condemned by reference to the total picture of God's ways with man and their ultimate ends.

The authority of the Bible, then, is the authority of redemptive history. It is found in the covenant concept as God leads Israel out of bondage. His righteous purposes are seen through the history of Israel as interpreted by the prophets. This point is brought out by the following assertions of contemporary scholars: "Biblical history is of a type to which the world offers no real parallel, it is confessional history in which *fact and event* are not separated from theological meaning."<sup>9</sup> "The Bible is authoritative insofar as it shares the authority of God. . . . The authority of God is the source of man's freedom. . . . Jesus Christ is authoritative for Christians. . . . What is ultimately

<sup>9</sup>G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Authority Today*, p. 222.



authoritative for the Christian theologian is not the Bible, but the Gospel of God to which it testifies. . . . The Bible has a relative authority as the shrine of the Gospel. . . . We have to distinguish between the relative and the absolute authority of the Bible. . . . The Bible is for us, who live after the events to which it bears testimony, the fountain head of our appropriation of the gospel. . . . We read the Bible and it has ultimate authority for us as it is subject to the judgment of Christ."<sup>7</sup>

It is well for us to remember that the Old Testament is incomplete without the New. Even for Jews it is incomplete so that they must have the Targums, as pointed out by Walter Harrelson, professor of Old Testament at Andover-Newton Theological School. The Old Testament is necessary to provide an adequate background for Christ. "Then I said, 'Lo, I have come to do thy will, O God' as it is written in the roll of the book" (Heb. 10:7). Add to the witness of the Old Testament the fact that the New Testament is trustworthy, as it gives us the completed picture of how much God loves and cares for man as seen by the gift of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Yet the gospels are faith documents. Only as we recognize this can we do full justice to their message of redemption in Christ. In the gospels Christ meets us as an historic person. In him we see ultimate reality as personal. Through the Holy Spirit, Christ becomes our contemporary. The other New Testament books are essential as they reveal the impact Jesus made on the early church. They have a special significance as "apostolic" which no later books could have.

Now the Bible is not inerrant but we can say that it is an *infallible guide to God*, if we understand rightly the meaning of "infallible," remembering that "The Bible has nothing whatever to do with infallibility if by that is meant a foolproof method of arriving at spiritual truth."<sup>8</sup>

Finally, we must recognize the necessity for authoritative writings, if the idea of Incarnation and Redemption is to be preserved, and transmitted. Here we find the community, the early church, carrying out a selective process in the formation of the canon. Its exact boundaries may be debatable. Even Martin Luther might call James a "right strawey" epistle; but the church has surely been led by the Spirit of God in recognizing that we do have His revelation to us in the book that we call the Bible. For Protestants, Scripture is a norm

<sup>7</sup>Cunliffe-Jones, *Authority of Biblical Revelation*, pp. 13, 18, 16, 20, 25, 40.

<sup>8</sup>Cunliffe-Jones, *Interpretation* (Jan. 1952), p. 29.

to which we instinctively turn. Of Biblical unity James Muilenburg says: "The Bible has (1) Unity of divine purpose, (2) Unity of Covenant, (3) Unity of divine revelation." Christians do find that in the church, the collective Christian mind, they are led into all the truth (Eph. 4:15-16). This remains true despite the danger of relativism. In the over-all wisdom of God different groups may have a different understanding of what total truth involves. For Baptists it is the necessity for a regenerate church membership as witnessed to by believers' baptism; for Presbyterians it is the sovereignty of God; for Methodists it is historically the strange warmth of the Holy Spirit, and in our day the vitality of a vigorous social concern; for Disciples of Christ it is the unity of the church; for Episcopalians it is the values found in an apostolic heritage; for Catholics, Roman and Eastern it is the value of liturgy and the sense of church. The point is that *for them* whatever else truth involves, it must involve this. The danger we all face is our *hubris*—pride—which wants to make our segment of the truth all-inclusive and even exclusive.

All of this gives us a high and holy duty to discriminate. If we are to follow Christ we must reject lower levels of interpretation in favor of higher. The very essence of freedom means that we can expect God's guidance even in matters of understanding scripture. This is a fundamental Protestant philosophy. As we associate with other Christians seeking honestly to be led by the divine Spirit, we become conscious that we are led into the fullness of the truth as it is in Christ.

## THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND COMMUNISM

By CHARLES W. LOWRY

Washington, D. C.

*Christian Faith and Communist Faith.* A Series of Studies by Members of the Anglican Communion. Ed. by D. M. Mackinnon. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1953. pp. xii + 260. \$4.50.

"Communism is the one living religion in the Western world today." Thus J. Middleton Murry opined in 1932 in his book *The Necessity of Communism*. As early as 1935 Bruno Meier described Communism as a system which "has its god, its holy scriptures, its Church, its inquisition, and its heretics." In 1936 the eminent lay Thomist of France,

Jacques Maritain, wrote of Communism: "It is a religion, and one of the most imperious quality: certain that it is called to replace all other religions; a religion of atheism." In 1940 Arnold Toynbee spoke of Communism as "another of our latter-day religions" and in 1947 he referred to Marxism as "this Western heretical religion" taken up by the Russians. In 1952 in his book *Communism and Christ* this reviewer wrote of Communism: "It is in fact the first universal salvation religion to put its entire emphasis upon this life and this world. It is the first great secular religion."

The volume *Christian Faith and Communist Faith* sets out from a similar premise. The editor, Professor D. M. Mackinnon, in his concluding summary of the work, writes:

In confronting Marxism, even in its Stalinist phase, we are confronting a metaphysic. . . . The convinced Marxist is not concerned to make a contribution to this or that field of enquiry. He is concerned rather to confess a faith. . . . For his words he claims not a relative, but an unconditional validity; in them the 'truth of things in themselves' is affirmed (p. 229).

The aim of the book is, in effect, to lay out and set side by side systematic expositions of the two faiths, Communism and Christianity. The result is one of the most solid and comprehensive works yet published in this field. Indeed for many American readers it will be on the heavy side; it is, however, a *must* for the serious student of Christianity and Communism as competing ideologies.

The first five studies (not six as the Bishop of Chichester in his "Introduction" mistakenly asserts) deal with the nature of Communism, treating it both as a body of doctrine and in relation to key philosophical and psychological issues which it raises. These disquisitions are informed, serious, profound and scientific in the best sense of this somewhat stretched term. The first two are largely informational, being on "The Thought of Karl Marx" and "Leninism and Stalinism." Every student, however, of this field knows how momentous are the guiding principles possessed by any particular expositor of the main stages of historical Communism.

The second group of three studies of Communism is headed "Philosophical Issues Raised by Communism." The titles are: "Truth and Truthfulness," "Historical Materialism," "Social Clockwork and Utilitarian Morality." All three essays are searching in analysis and constructive and suggestive in conclusion.

The first is at times heavily philosophical but abounds in acute insights and rewarding dicta. Here are examples. "What Marxism demands is the complete objectivisation of subjectivity" (p. 82). "There must be a real willingness to accept, alone, this disquieting pressure of truth and to associate oneself with its fundamental insecurity. That is the philosophical vocation and the true philosopher wills his calling. . . . It is here again that Marxism gives the impression of immaturity" (p. 83).

The essay "Historical Materialism," by M. B. Foster of Christ Church, Oxford, is exceedingly compact but full of useful material. It presents a brief description of the subject, then plunges into (1) a contrast of Marxism and Idealism, and (2) a comparison and contrast of Marxism and Christianity. Mr. Foster believes that Christianity is itself opposed to idealism and that the Christian should accept most of the Marxist objection to idealism. He suggests rather provocatively "that the elements common to Christianity and Communism are on the whole those which they both derive from Judaism" (p. 91). He deals in conclusion with the differences between Marxism and Christianity. It is curious that God or Theism is not included in the last list and is not specifically discussed as an issue in the essay.

I. M. Crombie, also of Oxford, deals with the problem of differentiating Communism and Socialism in the essay "Social Clockwork and Utilitarian Morality." The errors of Communism, he holds, are not to be located in its Socialist background but are (1) its attempt to offer a philosophy of history, and (2) its adoption of the Utilitarian position in ethics "in a crude and untenable form."

The five studies of Communism are followed by five of Christianity. The first and longest is entitled "The Faith of the New Testament." It is a simply written and competent survey of the teaching of the New Testament, including its outlook on community and the state. The author, who is the Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is clear-cut and *common-sensical* in his judgments, both doctrinal and sociological. On early Christian community of possessions and the modern theory and practice of the collective ownership of production, he tersely remarks: "To apply the word 'communism' to both is sentimental" (p. 139).

The next four studies are by non-Oxonians (in present residence at least) and are bracketed under the general head, "The Christian Understanding of Human Life and Destiny." Perhaps the most immediately interesting is the one by Arnold Toynbee, "The Christian Under-

standing of History." It is short, indeed almost truncated with its abrupt ending, and is characteristically Toynbeeian in being massive and factually overpowering rather than profound or acute.

The first two studies in this group are on "The Measure of Man" and "The Christian Conception of Social Justice." One of the contradictions presented in the data of Communism as a whole, which I believe liberal and even neo-orthodox theologians have been too ready to resolve in favor of Marx and his successors, is vividly posed by these two essays. In the first Engels is quoted as saying, "It is very superstitious of Lassalle that he should still believe in 'the idea of justice'" (p. 151). In the second we read the flat statement: "Marxism is not a denial of justice, and we shall never begin to understand it if we think it is" (p. 190). Nor am I sure that the first essayist would dissent from the dictum of the second.

Our fourth essay in this group is entitled "The Christian Hope." It is of special interest in view of the recent "World Assembly" at Evanston and illustrates the partial rapprochement of much current Anglican theology and its continental counterpart on the basis of a semi-fundamentalist Biblicism.

The final section *Conclusions* is by the Editor and falls into two parts: "Christian and Marxist Dialectic," and "Prayer, Worship, and Life." The two parts, however, make one coherent whole and this portion of the book is, in my judgment, the climax in quality and profundity as well as in logic and sweep of thought. The discussion of Christian and Marxist dialectic might well be described as an acute and sustained commentary on Whittaker Chambers' dictum: "Communism makes some profound appeal to the human mind. You will not find out what it is by calling it names." Mackinnon believes that "it is as a vindication of action that Stalinism has power" (p. 235) and concludes that the answer to it "must be found in action and theory of action rather than in mere formal refutation" (p. 237). This leads him in the final essay on "Prayer, Worship, and Life" to center on P. T. Forsyth's idea, worked out in criticism of Hegel viewed through the *New Theology* of R. J. Campbell, that "at the heart of the world stood the deed of the Passion." Our Christianity, he is certain, too often "lacks wholeness and profundity because it is all made up of bits and pieces, not radically orientated upon that which at the deepest level we judge the very foundation of our being and hope—the passion and resurrection of Christ" (pp. 245-246). In this connection he renews an earlier discussion of revolt in its central significance for the present world-crisis

and says with moving power: "In the Passion then is made perfect God's revolt against men, and is made perfect in love" (p. 254).

What is to be said of this book *Christian Faith and Communist Faith*? The first thing surely is that it is a searching work and that it searches the depths of him who reads it and still more him who reviews it. The second comment I should make is that it is an especially beneficial volume for Americans *because it moves in a different world from ours ideologically and because by and large we do not understand Communism and it is to us a complete mystery that a system so alien and shocking should have succeeded in seducing a very large section of mankind including the shattered intellectuals of the Western world*. It is better for us to face and try to take in this phenomenon than to withdraw more and more, comforting ourselves with the glories of the American system, while meantime the boundaries of Hell on earth are continuously enlarged and are moving ever closer to this hemisphere and this continent.

Having said all this and having confessed with sincerity and sympathy the strong and able features of this all-Anglican production, I pass on to make several criticisms, presented necessarily in a terse and compact form. From a theological standpoint *Christian Faith and Communist Faith* appears to reflect the Barthian revolution in contemporary Christian thought. That is to say, natural theology is either discarded tacitly or is minimized by implication. Christianity is presented as something independent of Western values. The concept of Christendom is entirely abandoned. The battleground chosen for resistance to Communism is no outward breastworks or fortifications but the very heart of the citadel, the Cross and Resurrection, or in more general terms Revelation itself. There is no attempt to find a counter-ideology short of Christianity itself, at the point of its central core and essence. The question I would raise is whether this is not in effect the acceptance of Pacifism, whether it is not to embrace the Catacombs in a setting of technology and applied psychology. From this standpoint it is but a short step to saying, as D. M. Mackinnon does, "If we repudiate the morality of the Kremlin, it must not be simply in order to embrace that of the Pentagon" (p. 255).

This brings me to a second major criticism, which applies also to the generality of English books on Communism. *Christian Faith and Communist Faith* is a learned book; in places it is profound and brilliant. It is a monument of industry and objectivity. It seems, granted the nature, the spread, and the worldwide menace of International Com-



munism, to be curiously passionless and neutralist. It conveys the impression that there is no point in the reaction of moral indignation. One is not even sure that the capacity is retained to make clear relative judgments that are yet informed by moral absolutes in the field of world politics. To this reviewer, at least, it seems that free man must do this or he is lost.

A third and final criticism concerns ideology at the level of politics and economics. It is very striking that in this book there is virtually no preoccupation with democracy in theory and practice. There is likewise no discussion or consideration of progressive and evolving capitalism. The place of freedom in economic life and the opposite number to this, the problem of power in a socialist society, are alike ignored. Here and there one gets the impression of a preference for socialism or an assumption of its superiority to capitalism in any form, but even this aspect of the crisis of our world seems to be thought of as theologically irrelevant.

Is not this to narrow Christianity unduly and to render it incompetent and probably irrelevant in a life-and-death struggle with an adversary that makes both economics and freedom, to say nothing of power, central in all its thought and calculation? Is not an ideology that is formed by Christianity but that can make contact with the conscience of mankind and that has something definite also to propose in relation to economics and government indispensable if a counter-offensive is to come and freedom and an open future are to be saved?

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Gospel of Matthew in the King James Version with Introduction and Critical Notes.* By Frederick C. Grant. "Harper's Annotated Bible Series," Nos. 10 and 11. Vol. I, pp. 69; Vol. II, pp. 61. \$0.75 each.

One who would comment on the Bible for a wide reading public has a difficult task. He must represent the best of the scholarship of his time and make a contribution to it. While in no way ignoring difficulties or compromising with the truth, he must state his results positively and helpfully. He cannot deal fully with every question, but, as Bishop Emrich once remarked, "Never stir up any snakes that you can't kill." Finally, if it is an annotated Bible, he must say what he has to say in spite of severe limitations of space.

By all these criteria, Dr. Grant is proved successful. He tells the

ordinary reader what he needs to know. There are excellent brief summaries of the Kingdom of God (3:2), the problem of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (12:31), the difficult excommunication passage (18:15-20), coinage (20:2), the problem of rendering to Caesar (22:21), Antichrist (24:15), the trial of Jesus (26:66), and particularly the Resurrection (28:9) and the trinitarian formula (28:19). All of these are *multum in parvo* and show that the present volumes should be immensely helpful to clergy, Sunday school teachers, and everyone else.

Dr. Grant comes to his task after years of research in source, form and textual criticism, in the Jewish and Hellenistic backgrounds, and in all kinds of introductory problems. His massive learning has its fruitage in interpretation. It is particularly interesting to note how he traces the development of certain sayings in the gospel tradition, e.g. 12:39, the sign of Jonah, and 19:9, the divorce logion.

Several of his judgments are so interesting that I cannot forbear mentioning them. The most striking perhaps is his treatment of 16:18. The rock on which the Church is built is not Peter, or Peter's faith, but the divine revelation of Jesus' nature. The foundation of the Church is still in the future, and in Matthew's thought takes place on the mountain in Galilee (28:18-20).

The theory that the devil controls the world was rejected by Jesus (4:9). In 5:32, *porneia* includes adultery. "Lord, lord" in 7:21 probably meant "rabbi;" the saying therefore can be genuine. Dr. Grant accepts *biazetai* in 11:12 as middle ("the kingdom of the heavens is coming violently"), and the saying itself goes back to Jesus. The commentator agrees with Martin Rist and others that 11:25-30 may have been a baptismal hymn, or rather two. That the multitude was *satisfied* is the point of the story of the Miraculous Feeding (14:20). The saying about the lost sheep of the house of Israel (15:24) need not originally have been anti-Gentile. "In its original setting (cf. 10:6) Jesus emphasized his mission to the *lost sheep*, i.e. the neglected common people (cf. 9:13b); but in the course of handing on the tradition the saying came to be understood differently (with emphasis on *Israel*, not on *lost sheep*)." The Transfiguration may have been the actual experience of an intimate group of Jesus' disciples (17:6-8). The "saying" referred to in 19:11 may have been the one in v. 10 or the one in v. 12. The parable of the wicked husbandmen (21:33-46) is basically authentic. The Praetorium (27:27) may have been located in the old Herodian palace or in the castle of Antonia. Dr. Grant

follows Dibelius' understanding of Jesus' cry from the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (27:46): to repeat the words of Ps. 22 was an act not of despair but of faith.

Although the tone of the commentary is positive and constructive, Dr. Grant does not hesitate to speak out. In connection with 16:17 he remarks, "It is almost inconceivable that the apostle who thus acknowledged Jesus as Messiah, and was pronounced *blessed* as the recipient of a divine revelation, should later have disowned and denied his Lord." The story of the stater in the fish's mouth "sounds apocryphal" (17:24-27). The author pays his respects to the Protevangelium of James as worthless historically (23:36).

The introduction is magnificent. Pages 7 and 8 of volume I give an excellent summary of the condition of Judaism and Christianity at the time when the gospel was written. Dr. Grant notes that Palestinian and Syrian Christians were opposed to the revolt, as is shown by the inclusion of 26:52b in the gospel; a point that had escaped me. He has me nearly convinced that Papias' logia must have been Old Testament prophecies, not sayings of Jesus, and that Papias meant Hebrew, not Aramaic (p. 9). One of the most brilliant points in the introduction is Dr. Grant's reference to the mosaic on the domed ceiling of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. Here the four evangelists are portrayed in the order Mark, Luke, Matthew, John. Since the mosaic is dated about A.D. 440, it may go back to a time before Augustine's conjecture as to the order of the gospels was accepted, and so represent an early Christian tradition. I have long agreed with Dr. Grant that Luke is earlier than Matthew, and it is interesting to have this additional piece of evidence. Finally, I should mention the list of contents of Q, a slight revision of the one given in *The Growth of the Gospels* (New York, 1933), pp. 79-81.

It is good to know that Dr. Grant plans to prepare the notes on all the New Testament books for Harper's Annotated Bible. His *Mark* has already appeared and a revised edition of it is planned. We can confidently expect a masterly commentary on the New Testament which will be useful for a long time to come, as well as inexpensive and convenient. Dr. Grant (in a personal letter) points out two misprints in his *Matthew*. In vol. I, p. 48, third line from the bottom, in place of "Mk. and Lk." it should read "later MSS." In vol. II, p. 57, line 2, in place of "Exegetically, it" read "Cf. Mk. 15:34 n. It".

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

*Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantins.* By Hermann Dörries. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1954, pp. 431. DM 30 (bound, 35).

The first half of this study of Constantine "from within" consists of analyses of the testimonies to his policy found in letters and edicts, in his *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum*, in laws and inscriptions, and in edicts on religion. In order to use the *Oratio* the author has to prove its genuineness, and does so by comparing its ideas and expressions with those found in other genuine works, and by explaining unique expressions on the basis of Constantine's special purpose in this address (pp. 146-61). The only thing we miss in this section is a full discussion of Constantine's coinage, since to some extent it reflects his own point of view; on the other hand, it is secondary to the primary sources Dörries discusses.

In the second half the author provides a systematic study of the materials provided. The first section, dealing with Constantine's idea of his mission, is perhaps the most important. Dörries states that "the first Christian emperor became not a god but a servant of God." Here he has to admit that Constantine's official idea of himself may not correspond entirely to reality, but he argues that his picture of what he wants to be is presumably the picture he has of himself (p. 251). After all, we are dealing with his *Selbstzeugnis*.

Dörries proceeds through Constantine's realistic idea of the visible church and his decisive rejection of paganism to his specific theology and Christology. These are not to be explained as due to any one teacher but represent Constantine's own understanding of Christianity. He was no Arian, and no solar monotheist, though he had some interest in philosophy. He was essentially a practical and practicing Christian.

Constantine's theological weaknesses are also discussed. "He knows nothing of the redemptive character of the death of Christ" (p. 400; cf. p. 394). Is not this ignorance, or different emphasis, characteristic of Greek theology? Should he be criticized for having had "no access to the true meaning of the mission of Christ and of the Christian preaching"? Finally Dörries makes a judgment on Constantine's alliance of the state with the church. He agrees that Constantine's understanding of Christianity was only elementary, but denies that "both state and church were untrue to themselves in this alliance" (p. 411). He finds both good and evil in the new arrangement. We could also ask what else the emperor could have done, given the Roman and generally ancient tradition of the religious, i.e. cultic, foundation of the

state. Dörries has intentionally emphasized the "selbst" of Constantine's "zeugnis", but the emperor was not entirely free.

In an appendix, Dörries absolutely rejects the thesis that Constantine's burial was intended to portray him as the "thirteenth god." He wished to be with the apostles, not the twelve gods of Rome.

The main impression we derive from this highly important study is that historians will have to treat Constantine as a sincere Christian believer, not as a Machiavellian prince, or at least to give more weight to his Christian faith than they have often done. The doctrine that "all power corrupts" is not necessarily an infallible guide in the study of the early church. Dörries provides an invaluable corrective.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Sacrifice.* By F. Hastings Smyth. Vantage Press, pp. 150. \$2.75.

All opinions of importance contain some element of truth. Like everything human, they are finite; they do not express the whole truth and they usually contain some inaccuracy or error. Those who accept them emphasize the features which are true or seem to be so, but they fail to recognize the errors. Those who reject them emphasize the errors but fail to recognize the truth. Within a generation both these failures become flat refusals, and protagonists and antagonists become intellectual or moral or political or economic or religious enemies. Each considers himself wholly right and the other wholly wrong.

Whenever "liberals" and "conservatives" are pitted against each other, one is willing to pitch out the baby with the bath; the other would fain save the baby by salvaging the bath. Come then "union" movements in which each side is urged to be generous, to tolerate the other, and to ignore differences, even logical contradictories. This accounts for most of the differences between traditional and post-reformational Christians, and between most Christians and Marxists.

Dr. Smyth addresses himself to one of these divisive problems, the sacrifice of Christ and its connection with the Eucharist. He recognizes the faulty concept of sacrifice which has obtained in western Christendom, the faulty concepts of spirit and matter and of the relation between them, and the consequent faulty concepts of the Eucharist and their divisive effect upon Christendom. The whole subject must be studied *de novo*.

He distinguishes between oblation and sacrifice. An oblation is the

offering of a gift or gifts to a deity with no change in the mode of existence of the gifts. All sacrifices are oblations, but not all oblations are sacrifices. In a sacrifice the mode of existence of the gift is changed. In ancient sacrifices the gifts were sublimated into smoke so that they might ascend to the gods and be more appropriate for their use. An oblation is a necessary preparation for a sacrifice. Oblations may be offered as ends in themselves, but to sacrifice them requires change of their substance into some other form of existence.

Whether the term *sacrifice* should be limited to the process of transforming, or transubstantiating the substance of the material of the gift, or whether it should include the preliminary oblation and the subsequent procedure of the gift to the deity, is a question. Dr. Smyth prefers the former and regards the Incarnate life of our Lord on earth as the necessary preliminary oblation, the Death on the Cross as the Sacrifice by which he entered another mode of existence, and the Resurrection and Ascension as "demonstrating the sacrificial success" (p. 34), achieving the Atonement (at-one-ment) of man with God. Thus the horrible concept of the Death of Christ somehow mitigating the anger of God and being misnamed Atonement, is rightly crowded out of consideration.

The Sacrifice of our Lord was not to remain an isolated event. Full, perfect and sufficient in itself, it was *for* other men but *not instead* of them. It had yet to be completed in succeeding centuries by the increment of as many human beings as were desirous of being united with it.

The dynamic "continuation in time" of our Lord's unique Sacrifice of His individual human Body on the Cross is made possible precisely by the survival or persistence in history of His socially extended Body (p. 42). This extension of the natural humanity of our Lord Incarnate is His Holy Catholic Church. . . . By Baptism, members of this Church are made one flesh and one blood within the historically continuing Body of the Incarnate Lord (p. 43).

In the Eucharist the sacrifices of the Church are made one with that of our Lord. By his direction Christians offer bread and wine as sacrificial substances. These are the products of their personal toil or are obtained by them by purchase; in either instance they represent the work of the living community. The offerers confess their failures and sins and, after the cleansing of Absolution,

the Bread and the Wine of the Lord's human agents are termi-



nally perfected within His natural Body and Blood; they are fully readied for His sacrificial moving of them through the Passage of His Cross and Resurrection there liturgically opened to them. This terminal and sufficient incorporation of substances of bread and wine prepared by baptized and therefore Incarnationally agential—but nonetheless frail—Christians, and then totally perfected by our Lord's atoning action in liturgical Absolution, may conveniently be called the *Ensubstantiation* of Christian offertorial Bread and Wine (p. 47). Presently these substances . . . will move through their liturgical Consecration to their proper *final end* . . . through the here-opened way of our Lord's Transubstantiation . . . into the level of His Body and Blood as they now exist in His ascended state (p. 48).

This use of the word *transubstantiation* far transcends that of mediæval Christendom and modern Romanism, which Dr. Smyth describes as "Desubstantiation" of ordinary bread and wine and replacing them by calling down the ascended Body and Blood of our Lord, chiefly for the purpose of Sacrificial *manipulation*, i.e., "a 'lifting up' before God of a Substance which has been historically already sacrificed two thousand years ago" (p. 74).

The atoning accomplishment of the Sacrifice of our Lord came to be figured forth as a kind of reservoir abundantly filled with "merit" which, for the appeasement of the sin-outraged justice of God the Father, could be tapped according to immediate requirements by successive propitiatory celebrations of Masses. . . . The more such Masses said, the better! (p. 75).

The three operations in the Eucharist are (1) the Offertory, (2) the Consecration, and (3) the Holy Communion, in which we receive into ourselves that which has been solemnly offered and consecrated. In Romanism the first lost any real significance; at best it became a token act of the priest, as a result of the theology of Consecration. In post-reformational churches the second has lost any meaning, while the first is, by many, identified with the collection for expenses and the third has become a token commemorative act instead of actual participation in the ascended humanity of our Lord.

To the book is appended the liturgy used by the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth of which Dr. Smyth is Superior. This is composed almost of old and well tried liturgical material arranged to express the three operations of the Mass.

Only some of the important features of the book can be expressed in this short note. Dr. Smyth is to be commended for the historical,

theological and devotional approach he has made to the subject. He is to be commended for his emphasis upon the Eucharist as a definitely social act of the Body of Christ, and for his insistence that this implies active interest in the political and economic structures of society, from which attention has been diverted by "five or six centuries of almost exclusive preoccupation with individualist soul-saving in a 'next' world" (p. 83). Resolution of the problems raised by some of his minor comments and criticisms does not affect the main thesis of his book, which should be studied carefully by all who are concerned with the Liturgy of the Church.

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES

*Judaism in Islam: Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and its Commentaries. Suras II and III.* By Abraham I. Katsch. New York: Bloch, 1954, pp. xxv + 265. \$7.50.

Some years ago an English lady doctor working in the Near East commenced the publication of a Qur'an with marginal references calling attention to Biblical and Christian parallels. More recently an Indian student, working on Narayana Rao's Telugu translation of the Qur'an, has produced a huge MS giving parallels to Muhammad's teaching to be found in Hindu religious writings. Dr. Katsch's volume, he tells us, is the first part of a similar work which will gather up from Jewish literature a like assemblage of parallels. This volume, after a brief Introduction, works patiently through Suras II and III, which, though they are the two longest Suras, yet represent only about a tenth of the Qur'an.

No one who looks even superficially at the Qur'an can fail to be struck by the number of familiar Old Testament names in its pages and the equally familiar Old Testament themes. That the stories about Biblical worthies, e.g. Abraham or Solomon, often differ in many respects from those in the Bible, is only because Muhammad's informants were at times more familiar with the Midrashic legends than with the Bible. That Muhammad had Jewish informants is clear enough, and it is often assumed that Muhammad must have gathered *all* this material from Jewish sources. The forms of the names of some of his Old Testament characters, however, are those found in Christian not in Jewish sources, and some details of the stories, e.g. the detail that Lot appears among the prophets, are clearly Christian not Jewish. Many years ago Mingana pointed out that a great deal of this Midrashic material was well known to Syriac writers, so the informants

who told Muhammad about John the Baptist and Jesus, about the legends of Alexander and of the Seven Sleepers, may well have passed on to him some of this Jewish material also.

Dr. Katsch has made a diligent compilation of parallels from Jewish literature both early and late, some of it of doubtful relevancy, and in his grossly overloaded footnotes he unfortunately cites without discrimination utterly worthless productions along with the standard authorities. Still he makes an imposing array of comparative material, and in days when the general public is so conscious of the sharp antagonism between Jews and Arabs, this book may serve the useful purpose of reminding us how close in many respects the teachings of Judaism and Islam are. The book has been excellently printed, which makes it the greater pity that the proof-reading has in places been somewhat careless.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

*Oral Tradition. A Modern Problem in Old Testament Introduction.* (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 11). By Eduard Nielsen. Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, 1954, pp. 108. \$1.25.

The title of this monograph describes its contents honestly. Building upon the researches of such scholars as Pedersen, Nyberg, Engnell, Birkeland, and to lesser extent Noth, the author first examines the nature of oral tradition in the ancient Orient and the role it played in the transmission of culture, and then re-views some classic problems of Old Testament literary criticism through the fresh insights gained thereby.

In the first section Nielsen, referring to Akkadian, Arabic, Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek texts, shows the primacy of oral tradition in the Near East for both poetry and prose. The reduction of literature to writing, he concludes, serves primarily as an aid to memory. But even this does not end oral transmission because the question of interpreting the written form then arises, and oral tradition continues side by side with the written partly in response to the problem.

In the second section he investigates the role of oral tradition in the Old Testament as illustrated by letters, compilations of law (oral recitation—oral ratification—written confirmation—oral transmission), collections of songs and poems, prophecy, and wisdom literature. From this he concludes that there was virtually no written Israelite literature before the Exile; that the change from oral to written tradition took place when the culture was threatened by syncretism from within and

political force from without (thus for Israel about 750 and for Judah, 600 B.C.); and that after the formation of the written canon oral tradition again flourished in Judaism, as is indicated by the Talmud.

In conclusion, Nielsen applies the techniques of the traditio-historical method to three Old Testament problems for which the literary-critical method has provided definite answers: Jeremiah 36, Micah 4-5, and Genesis 6-9. In each instance he proposes that literary criticism offers inadequate and often misleading solutions and that tradition criticism affords different answers which are equally valid and in some important respects far better, for instance, in giving the Biblical text and traditions preference over the Versions and conjectural reconstructions.

Although in the opinion of this reviewer Nielsen's conclusions and specific applications are not as impressive as his hypotheses and supporting illustrations, his monograph renders invaluable service in introducing English readers to basic elements in the flourishing Scandinavian school of traditio-historical criticism. Old Testament students in America will not long be able to escape the far-reaching influence of this method.

Incidentally, the publication of this "Study" series in America has been taken over by Alec R. Allenson, Inc. (Blessing Book Store) and the price reduced to \$1.25 per single copy or \$1.00 per copy on permanent subscription. Quantity orders receive a further discount, and examination copies are available upon request. Congratulations to the editorial committee and the new publisher.

R. LANSING HICKS

*Early Christian Fathers.* Edited by Cyril C. Richardson. Westminster Press, 1953, pp. 414. \$5.00.

*Augustine: Earlier Writings.* Edited by J. H. S. Burleigh. Westminster Press, 1953, pp. 413. \$5.00.

These volumes are two of a projected series of twenty-six called The Library of Christian Classics, being prepared under the general editorship of John Baillie, J. T. McNeill, and H. P. Van Dusen. The series is being published in this country by Westminster Press and in England by the SCM Press. Reviews of the subsequent volumes will appear in future issues of the *Review*. But certainly the repute of the general editors and the selection of works being included would lead one to think that this is *the* set for the person of general interests.

The first volume abundantly supports that assumption. Dr. Richardson and his associates (E. R. Fairweather, E. R. Hardy, and M. H.

Shepherd, Jr.) have prepared a work that is delightful as well as satisfying. The translations (new—not old ones reprinted) are first-rate. Dr. Richardson, for example, has managed to convey into English Ignatius' warmth of tone. To illustrate, the enthusiastic *axiotheou* of Magnesians is not stodgily rendered "a bishop worthy of God" or "your godly bishop", but, in parenthesis, "he's a credit to God!" The tone and life of the documents survive here, as seldom in translation.

The footnotes are restricted to a word of explanation or a paraphrase where the passage is really obscure. The necessary information for understanding the documents is supplied in introductions that keep to the essentials but supply an ample bibliography. The same editorial care is shown in the choice of documents (not all of the *Apostolic Fathers* are here) and in the selection of the parts of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* to be printed. What the editors have given is a fully representative selection and a sufficient explanation of the various types of Christian writing from the first two centuries: letters, martyrdoms, sermons, manuals, and apologetic treatises. Dr. Richardson's brief introductory essay on the period as a whole leaves nothing to be desired.

Professor Burleigh has accomplished his somewhat different task with equal skill. Three considerations influenced his selection: the question of where "the earlier Augustine" stops, the availability of other translations of his works, and the need to supply an adequate body of material for understanding the development of the system called "Augustinianism."

Augustine's own division point (indicated in the *Retractationes*) is adopted in the first connection, though not inflexibly; the easily available *Soliloquies* have been nevertheless included because essential to the third consideration, while the *De Natura Boni* has been included because no translation was available; and the anti-Donatist works were left out as not being in the central stream of Augustine's development. Incidentally, since the editor chose to mention the work of Alfarc and of Holl, this reviewer would have liked to see just a little more discussion of the question of Augustine's development as treated by Harnack, Becker Timme, and Boyer as well as the two scholars mentioned.

Those who have seen Burleigh's work *The City of God* will have confidence in his judgment; and though the Cassiciacum dialogues are seldom easy reading, the editor has certainly made the going less difficult. His introductions are quite brief, but followed by a helpful "analysis" of the tracts. Where relevant, Augustine's own comments in the *Retractationes* are included.

Certainly it is a great boon to everyone who wants to come to terms with St. Augustine himself to have these early writings in one skillfully edited volume.

HOLT H. GRAHAM

*Jew and Greek.* By Gregory Dix. New York: Harper, 1953, pp. vii + 119. \$2.50.

In this posthumously published volume, Gregory Dix left behind a brilliant study of the Primitive Church, viewed against the conflict of Greek and "Syriac" culture. Using Ephesians as his starting point he defended the identity of the Catholic Church with the primitive apostolic community against theories of the Hellenisation of the Gospel. Proof of the continuously directing power of Jesus himself is found in the remarkable fact that the Gospels, although written in Greek for a predominantly Gentile Church, present purely "Syriac" ideas. The Messiah whom they proclaim is consistently interpreted as "Son of David". ("Son of man" receives only passing notice as a term "worse than unintelligible" to Greeks.) As Jesus was rejected by his own people, on his own terms, so too the Jewish-Christian Church was rejected by the rest of Judaism, because it resisted the powerful temptation to turn back on its course during the critical decade, A.D. 40-50. Although Paul saw the issues involved in admitting Gentiles without circumcision and precipitated the decision to continue the practice, it was not of his invention. The Council at Jerusalem in A.D. 49 marks the turning point, the breach with Judaism, necessary to accelerate the spread of the Gospel across the Hellenistic world in that first generation. Thus before the Syriac roots of the Gospel had been cut by the collapse of the forlorn Jewish hope in A.D. 66-70, the astonishing leap from one world to the other had been made. Yet what is seen in later books of the New Testament is not the "Hellenisation" of Christianity, but its "de-Judaisation." By the time Christians were clearly distinguished from Jews, facing attack from the Roman government, the Church was truly Catholic (in the original sense of the Greek term). Nevertheless it maintained intact its Jewish heritage of monotheism, messianism and eschatology, together with its corporate worship and morality. One can appreciate the great contribution bequeathed by Dom Gregory in this closely knit thesis, withholding criticism of details which he might have modified had he lived to revise it or perhaps defended with equal ability.

OSCAR J. F. SEITZ



*Love, Power, and Justice.* By Paul Tillich. New York and London: Oxford, 1954. pp. viii + 127. \$2.50

The material for this book was first given as the Firth Lectures in Nottingham, England, and later expanded as the Sprunt Lectures in the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

After an introductory chapter briefly suggesting some difficulties commonly found in the use of the three terms, Tillich devotes three chapters to their definition, followed by three chapters in which the definitions of the concepts, and their mutual relationships, are illustrated by applications to problems in ethics.

The definitions are derived "ontologically," as a search for the "root meaning" of the concepts, "carried out as a part of the search for the basic meaning of all those concepts which are universally present in man's cognitive encounter with his world" (p. 2). The character of such an ontological search is clearly set forth in Chapter II, providing a helpful restatement of an essential part of Tillich's method. "Ontology asks the question of being, *i.e.* of something that is present to everybody at every moment" (p. 23). And such "being", intimately encountered in human experience, provides the locus for the definitions of love, power, and justice; each characterizes in an essential way the nature of being, and each can only be understood at the level of being itself.

Love, for example, must be understood ontologically: "Life is being in actuality and love is the moving power of life. In these two sentences the ontological nature of love is expressed. . . . Love is the drive towards the unity of the separated. . . . Love manifests its greatest power there where it overcomes the greatest separation. And the greatest separation is the separation of self from self" (p. 25). A similar analysis of the ontological nature of power gives the definition: "Being is the power of being. . . . That which is conquered by the power of being is non-being" (p. 37). And justice "is the form in which the power of being actualises itself" (p. 56).

With the discussion of the relationships between the three major concepts, the basic definitions are elaborated and clarified. The interplay of the three is first considered in personal relations, then in group relations, finally, in relation to what is ultimate, God and the "holy community."

This "ontological" study presents a curiously double impression. The importance of an examination of the root meaning of the three concepts is made obvious, and is an important supplement, or footnote, to Til-

lich's published theology. And the relevance of what we would call metaphysics to the concerns of life itself is also evident: Tillich's manner of blending philosophy and theology is once again demonstrated. But for a study of "love," to select only one of the three, this is oddly cold and unsatisfying. Perhaps the requirement of brevity has forced the discussion into a rather scholastic austerity. Or is it a matter of style? Tillich relies on the declarative sentence so much that the reader finds himself instructed, but seldom caught up in the excitement of following work in progress, the searching out of subtle and complex problems. The reader is reminded again, at least, that if Tillich is an "apologetic" theologian, this does not mean that he gives easy answers to easy questions, but that he forces us to ask the questions worth answering, painful though that may sometimes be.

CLEMENT WELSH

*Reformation and Catholicity* A Statement with Commentaries ed. by J. Loos and J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, and translated by H. K. Lutge. New York: American Church Union, 1954. \$1.00.

During the recent Columbia University Celebrations it might have been recalled that the first president of King's College, Dr. Samuel Johnson, was one of those Puritan worthies at New Haven who discovered after diligent study that "they were usurpers in the house of God," and who took the perilous journey to England to obtain Episcopal orders. Such was the beginning of the "Highflyers" in this country. A movement somewhat similar in import, though not yet breaking as decisively with its Puritan past as did Dr. Johnson, is to be seen in this pamphlet under review. It is a statement (followed by commentaries thereon) by some eleven ministers and twenty laymen of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, questioning some of the principles of the Reformation and especially the advisability of withdrawing from the apostolic succession of the ministry.

This statement naturally aroused both interest and opposition in Holland, and the original edition was sold out in a few months. The authors are members of the Hilversum Convent which is an organization whose aim is to advance the cause of reunion by promoting Catholic faith and life in the churches of the Reformation.

The statement begins by asserting that the unity of the Body of Christ is "the only possible salvation for our disintegrated culture and the only synthesis in which our political and social tensions will find

their ultimate solution." The danger of "absolutizing as the ultimate truth" certain views of reformed Protestantism is pointed out. To accept the "reformed tradition" as "above criticism" is "a renunciation of the reformed principle itself." What, then, must be affirmed? The authors emphasize the positive relationship between nature and grace, creation and redemption, as issuing from a right doctrine of the Incarnation. This leads them to stress the Scriptures as the source of revelation, but to affirm as well that the church "is committed forever to the creeds of the undivided church in the task entrusted to her to explain Holy Scripture." Of the sacraments they hold that baptism is not the seal of a gift *already* present, but the actual infusion of divine grace, just as in the Lord's Supper Christ is present "substantially, really and truly." On apostolic succession they say, "Are we not playing with Divine grace when, neglecting this ancient tradition of the Church . . . we quietly continue to administer the holy sacraments?"

These are revolutionary sentiments in Dutch Calvinism and they presage a kind of Oxford Movement or Mercersburg Theology in that country. What its outcome will be we cannot predict. But all Anglicans should rejoice that some members of another Reformed Church are taking seriously Catholic truths neglected by the Reformation.

CYRIL C. RICHARDSON

*Czechoslovak Protestantism Today.* By Amedeo Molnár, with a Foreward by J. L. Hromádka. Prague: The Central Publishing House Kalich, 1954, pp. 43 + 32 ill. plates.

This slender book of a large quarto format most attractively devised and bound, represents an official publication of Czechoslovak Protestant Churches in conjunction with the Second World Council of Churches Assembly. The author, who is Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology at the Comenius Protestant Theological Faculty in Prague, gives us in this book a concise and clear outline of the Reformation history in Czechoslovakia, a résumé of the current activity of Czech and Slovak theologians, and an informative survey of all Protestant denominations in that country. The text is enhanced by ample pictorial documentation. The sixty-six illustrations range from early Hussite memorabilia to scenes from contemporary church life. By far the most interesting is the historical portion, both in text as well as in picture. Under the aegis of the current Prague régime—which sees in John Hus an archetype of the social revolutionist—the Bethlehem

Chapel was rebuilt in pretty much its original shape as it was in the days when Hus preached within its walls to large congregations. A number of photographs give us a clear idea of the place which featured so prominently in the initial stages of the Hussite Reformation. Prof. Molnár underscores the unique features of this reformation which set it apart from either Lutheranism or Calvinism.

The section dealing with the present situation leaves some questions unanswered. The author seems to have a less direct part in it. It appears to this reviewer that the author was more an editor, a compiler of official information supplied by denominational authorities, rather than an independent writer. In a way, this is to be expected in a book of official and interdenominational nature as this one is.

The more debatable portion of the book is provided by the Foreword of Dr. J. L. Hromádka, the controversial theologian and Dean of the Comenius Theological Faculty. It presents a very subtle apologia for a captive church. We agree with the truism that "the churches in Czechoslovakia today are in the midst of huge and revolutionary social events. They are aware of the fact that we are living on the dividing line of our age . . . in the midst of the whirlwind and the earthquake" (p. 13). But is it true that "liberal democracy . . . surrendered . . . and so became, historically speaking, outdated," (p. 14) and that "in the midst of this great social transformation we are also learning to view *correctly* the efforts of people who bear the difficult task of creating a *better and more lasting order*"? (p. 15f., italics mine).

Of course, some of what Hromádka says about the decadence of the West is correct, but the weakness of his argument lies in his theological myopia with regard to the Sovietized East. Aside from these defects, without which the book would hardly have been able to make its luxurious appearance and its journey westward, *Czechoslovak Protestantism Today* is an excellent Baedeker to the religious situation in the land of John Hus.

ENRICO S. MOLNAR

*Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer.* 2nd ed. By Hans Bardtke. Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1953, pp. iv + 176. 14 plates.

The leather manuscripts found in the Wady Qumran and the Wady Muraba'at, on the western side of the Dead Sea, are unquestionably the most important manuscript discoveries of the twentieth century. Already the secondary literature regarding these documents has attained immense proportions. Outside of the two books of A. Dupont-Som-

mer, there are, however, few publications on the subject intended for the general reader. Bardtke has therefore performed a real service for those who can read German. He begins with brief treatments of the manuscript tradition of the N. T., the origin of the O. T. canon and its textual situation. Then he describes the 1947 find, which included the two Isaiah scrolls, the Habakkuk midrash, the Manual of Discipline, the so-called Book of Lamech, the War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness, and the Psalms of Thanksgiving. After discussing the age of the manuscripts and the question whether they are late forgeries—a matter now settled to the satisfaction of most scholars—he describes the biblical manuscripts in the Qumran collection and their textual peculiarities.

In the final part of the book, Bardtke gives full translations of the Manual of Discipline, the midrash on Habakkuk, and the thanksgiving psalms, and a summary of the war scroll, with discussions of each. On the whole, his conclusions are cautious and acceptable, except for the date which he assigns to the Habakkuk midrash. This, he believes, cannot be later than 165 B.C. because the "Wicked Priest" of the document is charged with worshipping idols. In the reviewer's opinion, this very general statement cannot override the large amount of evidence which suggests a date in the first century B. C. The new edition concludes with a report on the most recent excavations and finds, and a select bibliography.

Bardtke, who lives in Leipzig, is in touch with most of the recent literature but remarks that he has not been able to see certain items. His illustrations, which include a map, views of the territory in the neighborhood, and facsimiles of certain columns of the scrolls, are excellently reproduced. He is to be congratulated on a task splendidly accomplished.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

*Sent Forth to Preach: Studies in Apostolic Preaching.* By Jesse B. Weatherspoon. New York: Harper, 1954, pp. 182. \$2.50.

This little book cannot be said to contribute anything fresh to our understanding of the Apostles and their message. There are a few homiletical suggestions that may be found useful.

F. W. B.

*From the Sermons of Rabbi Milton Steinberg.* Ed. by Bernard Mandelbaum. New York: Bloch, 1954, pp. viii + 200. \$4.50.

This extraordinarily interesting book contains sermon notes for the Jewish High Holydays and Major Festivals prepared by the late Rabbi Steinberg who was one of the most influential religious minds in America. No Christian preacher can read them without sympathy and enthusiasm for the work of a superb craftsman, and a deepened understanding of the spiritual values contained in Jewish worship and preaching.

F. C. G.

*Man's Need and God's Action.* By Reuel L. Howe. Foreword by T. O. Wedel. Greenwich: Seabury Press, 1953, pp. 159. \$2.50.

In response to many requests, Dr. Howe has written out the substance of the lectures and talks he delivered and conducted over the country as a member of a Christian Education team. His theme is estrangement and reconciliation, sin and atonement, expounded in a way that combines modern psychology and traditional theology to the enrichment and illumination of both.

He begins with the need for relationship,

the struggle to find it and the effect of finitude and sin upon the struggle. After exploring the gift of relationship and its language (as contrasted with verbal symbols only), he describes the need for love, acceptance, discipline and the ministry of the Church (as a body) in making available God's sufficiency therefor.

The analysis is reminiscent of Kierkegaard at one point, and of Tillich and Buber, whom he cites. The ministry of the Church as reconciling community is stressed, with particular attention to Baptism and the Holy Communion in their symbolic aspect.

H. G.

*The Episcopal Church.* By George Parkin Atwater. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1953, pp. 190. \$3.00.

The Episcopal Church with its liturgical use, creeds, historical consciousness and apostolic ministry needs to be explained to non-Episcopal friends to be understood and appreciated. Because so many of them are attracted to the Church and seek to know our ethos, it is highly desirable to have such a book as Dr. Atwater's to put in their hands. For over a generation no book has appeared that can match it for this purpose. In this new edition it has been revised under the supervision of the author's son and brought out in a more attractive binding. The conversational method which is largely responsible for its popularity is even more informative and interesting in spots. The book has been tested by time and found good. In its present revision it will probably sell another 200,000 copies before the end of the next generation.

H. H. S.



*Church in Communist Society. A Study in J. L. Hromádka's Theological Politics.* By Matthew Spinka. Introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. Hartford: The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1954. pp. 55 \$1.00.

This book presents an excellent study of the acclimatization of a captive Church in Communist society. Dr. Spinka, Waldo Professor of Church History at Hartford Theological Seminary, is an author known for his scholarly analyses of Russian and Slavic Church conditions and history. More recently he edited Volume XIV (*Advocates of Reform*) of the Library of Christian Classics. His latest essay, *Church in Communist Society*, offers a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Church beyond the Iron Curtain. As its subtitle indicates, it is essentially a "study in J. L. Hromádka's Theological Politics," and thus its timing in conjunction with the meeting of the World Council of Churches Assembly at Evanston is significant: the book appeared as Number 17 of The Hartford Seminary Foundation Bulletin in June 1954. Dr. Hromádka, well-known in Church circles as the theologian and spokesman of Czechoslovak Protestantism, reached the apex of fame at the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, during his dramatic debate with John Foster Dulles. Last year, Hromádka represented, together with lesser luminaries, official Czech Protestantism at Evanston.

In view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Czech Protestants has vigorously challenged Hromádka's claim to speak for them, the study of Dr. Spinka—who is himself of Bohemian background—is an example of remarkable objectivity and painstaking faithfulness to facts. As Reinhold Niebuhr writes in his introduction to the essay, "it is not our business to judge the motives of man, for

actions and attitudes come out of a curious mixture of motives which in the ultimate instance no one can justly appraise." Dr. Spinka studies Hromádka's curious mixture of motives as it grows out of the life of the controversial Czech figure, and with candor he presents to us his early formative years in Moravia, his theological studies in Vienna, Basel, Heidelberg, and Aberdeen; his part in the life of John Hus Theological Seminary in Prague, his opposition to both liberalism and orthodoxy, and his growing appreciation for Barthianism and the Russian theological pessimism. We see how, as a faculty member of the Prague Seminary and—during World War II—as an honored Stuart Guest Professor of Apologetics and Christian Ethics at Princeton, Hromádka, a theologian of Proletarian sympathies, gradually evolved his "theological politics" which eventually, led him to accept the Communist platform after his return to Czechoslovakia, and to renounce his former friends. This amazing theological pilgrim's progress is calmly analyzed and amply documented from Hromádka's own books, articles, and speeches.

Clergy and laity who are interested in contemporary religious thought and in the dangers of "adjustment to contemporary situations" will appreciate Dr. Spinka's timely book.

E. S. M.

*Life in Christ.* By G. B. Verity. Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury, pp. vii 224. \$3.00

In pursuing the meaning of life in Christ for St. Paul and the Fourth Evangelist, the author discusses Regeneration assuming without question the Pauline authorship of Titus). Righteousness, the Image of God, Holiness, (as wholeness), Eternal Life, Election, and Atonement. He concludes that "there is only one word in the English language that will do" to

describe what is meant by "the magic words" (as Lightfoot called them) in *Christ*. That word is Coinherence, which is the title of the final chapter. (Its opposite, according to the author, is Incoherence) Although Mr. Verity remarks in his introduction that this short study in biblical theology is written not for theologians but "for the faithful many", it seems unlikely that "many" laymen however faithful will make their way through its rather difficult pages. The author's method is largely philological and more specifically lexical. Among the Hebrew and Greek terms discussed are: *berith* and the distinction between *diatheke* and *syntheke*; *tsedeq* and *dikaiois* with its cognates; *kaphar* and *katalage*. The reader is frequently referred backward or forward for fuller treatment of some idea and unnecessary obstacles are placed in his way. For example, two pages of critical notes on Paul's four letters to Corinth interrupt the continuity of the chapter on Fellowship. A watchful editor should have insisted on making an appendix of such material, if it was thought necessary to include it. This reviewer felt rewarded for his persistence, but could have wished for himself and others that the pursuit had been made more inviting.

O. J. F. S.

*Studien zum Gottesbegriff*. By Alexander M. Horváth, O.P. Freiburg, Schweiz: Paulusverlag 1954, pp. xii + 316 and 4 tables.

This is volume VI in the series of *Thomistische Studien*, and is an attempt to show that the concept of God, properly taken after the manner of St. Thomas, can well serve as a comprehensive and all-inclusive *Erkenntnisgrund* for theology. The universal and basic nature of the *Summa Theologica*, manifested when it is studied in this light, is held to furnish one with an *Unterstützung für oder*

*gegen* more particular theological endeavours and adjustments, which so often owe their lives to overemphasis and narrowness of viewpoint. In the back of the book are to be found four useful tables. Three give an overview of the contents of the *Summa*, with the first 44 questions of Part I being given in detail. The fourth diagrams the formal coherence of the attributes of God.

A. A. V.

*Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics*. By Otto Weber. Translated by Arthur Cochrane. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953, pp. 253. \$6.00

What Somervell has done for Toynbee Professor Weber has attempted for Karl Barth. Eight huge volumes with 5,956 pages of this Protestant *Summa* have been condensed by interpretive summaries and quotations of leading theses into a book which is modestly styled a "report." This is by far the best book in English to represent Barth's theological genius. The commonly read *Dogmatics in Outline* fails to suggest the depth in Barth. Weber's book will remain a useful crutch until the Scottish group finishes its translation of the whole *Church Dogmatics*. The major sections deal with revelation, the Trinity, creation, man, and freedom. This is about one half of Barth's projected themes.

w. J. W.

*Against The Stream*. By Karl Barth. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954, pp. 252. \$3.75

Here are bound together by Ronald Smith some nine post-war writings of Karl Barth that are mainly concerned with church-state relations. That a profound theology never in itself guarantees political astuteness or discrimination is illustrated by the documents of Barth's Hungarian tour. The open letter of Brunner in protest, despite some shrill objections, makes clear the basic contra-

diction between a Barth who could see the evil in Nazism clearly, but is confused by the moral issues of Soviet communism. Barth is not against *that* stream, but looks to be riding what he regards as the wave of the future. There is wisdom in a Dutch proverb: "Shoemaker, stick to your trade." w. j. w.

*The Message of Christianity.* By Peter H. Monsma. New York: Bookman Associates, 1954. pp. 124. \$2.75.

In this book Professor Monsma of Grove City College gives us a brief, clear, and on the whole well-balanced picture of Christianity as a liberally-minded, but essentially orthodox, Protestant sees it. There is a modesty, yet a welcome insistence on what the author calls the "functional" value of the Christian faith. And there is clear affirmation with reverent agnosticism. An example will make this clear: I do not understand how Jesus can be the Son of God, or more specifically, how God and man are united in him in an exceptional way. But I believe they are. I believe they are because of what Jesus was, because of what he said and did, because of the light and meaning the thought of God uniquely present in and united with Jesus gives to human life" (pages 38-39). Would that all popularizers of Christian faith were as simple, as humble, as convinced, and as "agnostic" as this writer!

w. n. p.

*Christ in the Haunted Wood.* By W. Norman Pittenger. Greenwich: Seabury Press, 1953, pp. viii, 180. \$2.75.

The chapters in this book were originally delivered as talks to faculty and students at various colleges and universities. As now presented, they form an easy-reading and interesting introduction to the nature of the Christian life. In Dr. Pittenger's view, "to be a Christian is

to be *something*. All religion implies and needs a theological structure; the theological structure of Christianity is the "statement. . . of those essential elements in the Christian life-in-faith, without which that life-in-faith would be something other than what historically it has been." (52) Above all the Incarnation and Atonement are shown to furnish the context within which the life of man is significant.

The non-sensationalistic appraisal of the expected results of life in Christ by Dr. Pittenger is to be much commended. That not only man but the whole created order will be redeemed and transformed; the nature of prayer; the social character of the Christian ethic; and the concluding illustrations of Christian influence in the choice of vocation and the use of sex, are all significantly treated. A few remarks, however, about the relation of Sacramental theology in general to Incarnational theology would have furnished a useful background to the author's discussion of the Eucharist. A. A. V.

*God is Light.* By Edgar P. Dickie. New York: Scribners. pp. 260. \$3.00.

This is an extraordinary book in its wide coverage of subjects related and, sometimes, unrelated to its main theme. It contains reflections on such varied topics as, "Fears, right and wrong," "Should the Churches have a political program?"; brief book reviews of Frank's *God with Us*, and Austin Farrer's *The Glass of Vision*; and even an introduction to the theology of Wilhelm Dilthey. The sub title is, "Studies in Revelation and Personal Conviction." It is an attempt to balance liberalism and dogmatism, external authority and the Inner Light," reason and revelation, givenness and growth. Much of what the author says is stimulating, though it is difficult to arrive at clear-cut conclusions. The chief argu-

ment seems to be that whereas personal conviction comes to men in a "luminous moment" discontinuous with the experiences of nature, conscience and history, nevertheless, here God is active and all such experiences are valid as confirmatory. There is much of interest in the book and much worth pondering. It might seem that the emphasis on the *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti* is at times so strong as to almost deny or, at least, disregard Councils and Creeds as playing any role in the scheme of revelation.

P. S. K.

*The Devil.* By Giovanni Papini. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1954. pp. 246. \$3.75

The devil seems to be an increasingly "popular" subject for modern writers. We have had Denis de Rougemont's "The Devil's Share", the recent French symposium on satanism, and now Papini's quasi-theological quasi-romantic discussion. For writing it, the Italian novelist and litterateur has been sharply criticized at Rome; in the preface to the book, appearing in English translation by Adrienne Foulke, he speaks as if he had expected such criticism. For he is a universalist who, with Origen, believes that even "the dark figure of the First Rebel and the most ancient of the damned" will be conquered by "Eternal Love."

Papini takes the reality of the devil very seriously, although it is not always clear whether this is meant symbolically or literally. He has much to say about the presence and persistence of evil (the devil) in human life; more to say, but by hint and intimation, about the conquest of evil through "Eternal Love" (God).

For those who like this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing they will like. In other words, this is one of those books, now appearing in increasing numbers, in which myth in the good sense is confused

with myth in the bad sense, and the result is called Christian apologetics. This reviewer dislikes the whole enterprise.

W. N. P.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### Sermons

*The Anglican Pulpit Today.* Edited by Frank Dean Gifford. Mohrhouse-Gorham, 1953, pp. 235. \$3.50.

*Fear Not!* Henry Irving Louttit, with a Foreword by Bishop Pardue. Seabury Press, 1954, pp. 61. \$1.75.

*A Right Judgment in All Things.* By Austin Pardue, with a Foreword by Bishop Scaife. Seabury Press, 1954, pp. 236. \$3.25.

*Go Preach! Thirty Sermons for the Laity.* Edited by Theodore O. Wedel and George W. R. MacCray, with a Foreword by Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill. Seabury Press, 1954, pp. 242. \$3.50.

*Do You Want Inward Power?* By John Heuss, with a Foreword by Bishop Donegan. Seabury Press, 1953, pp. 172. \$2.25.

### Others

*God and Space-Time: Deity in the Philosophy of Samuel Alexander.* By Alfred P. Stiernotte, with a Foreword by Henry Nelson Wieman. Philosophical Library, 1954, pp. 455. \$3.00.

*Modern Science and God.* By P. J. McLaughlin. Philosophical Library, 1954, pp. 89. \$2.75.

*The Lord's Prayer: an Interpretation.* By Gardiner M. Day, with a Foreword by David R. Hunter, illustrations by Allan R. Crite. Seabury Press, 1954, pp. 98. \$1.75.

*Seeking After Perfection.* By William L. Phillips. Holy Cross Press, 1954, pp. 90. Cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.

*Belief in the Trinity.* By Dom Mark Pontifex. Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. 91. \$1.50.

*By the Power of God.* By Samuel M. Shoemaker. Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. 158. \$2.00.

*Visible and Invisible.* By Lucette M. Prichard. The Bond Wheelwright Company (145 E. 63rd St., New York City), 1954, pp. 37. \$2.00.

*Stories for Young Churchmen.* Morehouse-Gorham, 1954, pp. 164. \$2.50.

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